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eager to segregate themselves from the 'uneducated'. A new line of demarcation was drawn through the population, and one which came to be of increasing importance during the succeeding centuries. On the other hand, we see from comedy that the sophistic doctrines influenced very wide sections of the people, and were able to do so because the people took a lively interest in literary, artistic and even linguistic questions. Scepticism in religious matters spread, though it never obtained a real hold on the majority of the people, who were apt rather to fall into the opposite extreme of increased superstition and devotion to ecstatic and mystery cults. Rationalistic criticism even in an 'age of enlightenment' was not for the many, and the more difficult and subtle the teaching of the sophists and rhetors became, the more it was confined to a relatively small proportion of the people, to the new upper class of the 'educated'.

The comic poets, although their affection was for the unsophisticated, were concerned with both classes among the people. This shows, especially in that age of change and transition, a certain definite attitude with a peculiar quality of its own. We have used comedy chiefly as an instrument, as a source of evidence. For we saw that it was a social as well as a literary phenomenon, it expressed in a sense views which were generally held, and its mirror reflected the people as a whole. We have not, however, or only incidentally, asked ourselves what spirit comedy can claim as its own. This spirit must have shared in and expressed some general feelings, and cannot have been only the individual spirit of comedy, still less that of the various comic poets. We do not propose to speak of the literary character and high artistic quality of Old Comedy; these are well known and, apart from that, not really our concern. What we do want to stress is in the first place — though this is not the first time it has been said — that comedy was influenced by the economic and rationalist spirit of the age in a much higher degree than one would be inclined to believe in view of its general attitude and especially its criticism of the new tendencies.¹ What does it mean, in fact, all this

¹ This has been proved, for the special but important subject of rhetoric, by C. T. Murphy, *Harvard Studies in Class Philology*, XLIX (1938), 69ff. Aristophanes, certainly a severe critic not only of the 'orators', but of the art of rhetoric itself, especially in its influence on poetry, is described by Murphy as 'a student and, in some degree, a contributor to the art of rhetoric'.

summoning up of the men and the spirit of the past, if there was actually no way back, and if the comedians never really thought of going back, but were pleading for the ideal of a pleasant and tranquil life and not for the heroic will to liberty and the strong public-spiritedness of the past? What does it mean, all this antagonism to the spirit embodied in Euripides and Sokrates, if the comedians did not spare any of the gods their bitterest satire, if their criticism might attack everybody and everything in social and intellectual life?

There is a second point. The spirit of Old Comedy seems to be characterized by two negative facts: the lack of any clear, detached and more-than-individual standpoint, and the lack of any uncompromising reverence or respect. This twofold 'deficiency' is not simply due to the fact that comedy had to be comedy. Through all the good-natured or bitter fun of comedy, there can be heard the voice of serious and fundamental convictions. Old Attic Comedy, although the wittiest kind of entertainment and merry-making the world has ever seen, was always more than mere entertainment. Just as the Attic tragedian was more than a playwright, so the comedian was more than a jester. Reflecting as it does the spirit of the time and the spirit of the community, Old Comedy was at the same time a product of creative inventiveness and art which easily became, especially in the later stages, pure subjectivism and individualism. We have touched on this point at the end of the last chapter. Comedy was both a product and an active factor in an epoch in which the traditional forms of life had been destroyed without the creation of new ones except within the realm of pure theory.¹ Comedy touched on all classes of the people, not, like tragedy, from a generally accepted but remote platform, standing rather in the midst of the people and the contemporary events and ideas. The poet, who fought passionately against the deterioration of democracy brought about by demagogic leaders, was himself a demagogue. Frequently he used the very methods for which he blamed the political leaders — denunciation, overpraise, and appeal to the greed of the people.² Witty and serious, rude and flattering, filled with fantasy and with emotion, Aristophanes, whom once

¹ It is worth while to compare what Hegel writes in his *Aesthetik* (*Werke*, I, 562)

² See p. 28ff

again we take as the representative and the very culmination of Old Comedy, is one of the greatest seducers in all the history of literature.¹ Even in his early comedies, when he was little more than a boy, his genius led him far beyond the stage of mere fun-making, however gorgeous. Comedy is permeated by the same spirit as that which led the people to the decisions about Mytilene, about the victors of Arginusae and about Sokrates. It is this spirit of demagoguery which persuaded the citizens to consider it intolerable if they were not allowed to do exactly as they pleased, even to the extent of cancelling laws and decrees sanctioned by themselves. It is the spirit which turned the sovereign people into a tyrant proud of not being accountable to anyone, either as jurymen or in the assembly.² In the end, the people became the fool of their own sovereignty, and democracy was undermined for the sake of democratic principles.

Athens succeeded during the Peloponnesian War in the most magnificent and most astonishing achievements, both in the military and the cultural sphere. On the other hand, by her own fickleness, distrust and arrogance she brought about her eventual collapse. Democracy was responsible for both the one and the other, but it is difficult to decide how much of what happened came about because Athens was a democracy. The negative consequences, of course, were more obvious, still more so the character of the State after the collapse. The democracy of the beginning of the fourth century, based on, and justified by, the expulsion of the cruel tyranny of the Thirty, was a State of some power and vitality, but it no longer followed the trend of the time, which tended towards the rise of larger territorial States. The 'petty State', with its character of provincialism, so anxiously predicted for a long time past, became to a large extent the reality.³

This development is, in a sense, reflected in the development of comedy. The spirit of comedy, its very nature, depended originally, even in its criticism, on the spirit of the whole

¹ After I had written these words, I read the fine sentences of Fr. Schlegel which follow almost the same lines (*Vom künstlerischen Wert der alten griechischen Komödie Samil Werke*, IV, 25ff, especially 34)

² W. 587, Thuc. III, 43, 4. Cf. J. A. O. Larsen in *Essays in Political Theory*, pres. to G. W. Sabine (1948), 10ff

³ The Athenians as μικροπολίται, K 817, frg 819

people and the democratic State. Later the tendencies we have characterized, above all the quietist ideal defined again and again in the middle of a terrible war, show the path which comedy took, a path which led finally to a somewhat dull and wholly unpolitical atmosphere. The two latest extant plays of Aristophanes, and especially the *Ploutos*, with their narrow and materialistic dreams based on 'wishful thinking', are witnesses to a period of weakening and transition. The fantastic and Utopian exaggeration of reality in Old Comedy has vanished, while the artistic subtlety and the deeper psychology of New Comedy have not yet been achieved. So the historians of literature divined or discovered the existence of Middle Comedy which, seen from a general point of view, includes the period when poetry had left the sphere of politics. In a world in which, even at its best, wealth, good manners, and intellectual education had replaced the old standards of austerity, physical prowess and patriotism, comedy too had to change in manner as well as in matter. The topical question, for instance, of whether rhetorical or philosophical training provided the better kind of education, was no subject for the comedians who turned against every kind of intellectual education. Consciously or not, they adapted themselves to a new *bourgeois* audience and its standards of decency, materialism and private interests.

Aristophanes opposed a development in which he was himself unconsciously involved. This development with its doubtful and tragic as well as its more positive features went further. The social demands of a stratum of petty citizens, partly almost proletarians, gained ground, and men accustomed themselves more and more to new economic ideas and methods. The whole change in social life, both in the material and in the psychological sphere, proved to be an important, indeed an inevitable, stage of historical development. With the increase of the economic dependence of the citizens on the State, Athens undoubtedly went beyond the boundaries of sound social and financial policy. This process, however, did not go so far as is often supposed, and the effects were balanced to some extent by the fact that contempt for trade and craft decreased rather than increased. The vast majority of the people continued to live by these pursuits, and, on the other hand, State and citizens derived much advantage from the

work of non-citizens. All this was far from being a good and sound system, either politically or economically, but as a joint effect of economic development and public support, social life reached a stability which should not be under-estimated.

During the fourth century the decline of the Polis, both as a political form and power and as an unquestioned moral and intellectual community, went hand in hand with a slow but clear increase in economic prosperity and in the number of the population, and an even more obvious rise in the standard of technical and intellectual civilization. There were setbacks and temporary crises, but on the whole we can maintain that the loss of political influence together with that of political traditions and wisdom, which can easily be recognized in all the decades up to and beyond the times of Demosthenes, was the price, and certainly a very high price, of economic prosperity and social consolidation. These, however, could not have been achieved if economic thought had not been all-pervading and predominant. Nobility had lost its meaning and dignity, the peasants were impoverished, though they never entirely lost their importance; the townsfolk with the metics and slaves became an economic organism of considerable strength — of many weaknesses, too, but these were to a large extent overcome by the system of State payments and distributions of corn. In spite of all its political blunders and its general economic unsoundness, the whole system worked fairly well by reason of a peculiar mixture of social equity and social corruption. Though far from setting a good example in government, the democracy of the fourth century yet revealed, from the domestic point of view, strength and efficiency. 'La démocratie qui travaille ne laisse pas mourir de faim ses enfants.'¹

Some modern scholars uphold the view that its financial system was the real cause of the destruction of the Athenian State.² We cannot accept this line of thought. The financial system was bad, but it worked not too badly. The prosperity of economic life and the relative equilibrium of social conditions during the fourth century categorically refute the claim that the unsound conditions of public finances were in any

¹ Francotte, II, 357. I should like to refer here in general to the vivid picture which R. J. Bonner gives in his *Aspects of Athenian Democracy* (1933).

² Cf. Andreades, 363, quoted, e.g., by Michell, 393, as his last summing-up.

way decisive. In a sense, economics were the reason for the decline, not because of overwhelming poverty and disorganization, but just because economic life flourished. The victory of the economic outlook and the preponderance of 'Economic Man' were the true reasons for the deterioration of politics and morals.

Is this the final result of our investigation? I believe not. We must, once more, look back on the whole development which caused the decline of political comedy, because it reflected the decline of the Polis community. Athens did not die either in 404 or in 385 or even in 338. Neither the decay of political life and power, nor on the other hand economic aspirations, social achievements or social hardships, should blind us to the fact that the Athens of the fourth century was also, and above all, the Athens of philosophy, and that Hellenistic Athens remained the educational centre of a world which had grown in size. It was not economics but its own spirit which survived the political Polis. The comic poets could know little of that, and they misunderstood even such essential facts as they knew; but the people, without whom all this spirit would have been empty and void, really lived in comedy, and its evidence is witness of the people's capacities. Buoyancy and alertness in the average citizen joined with an innate sense of beauty and of pleasure in life on the one hand, with a gradually spreading, though superficial, rationalist education on the other, to form the foundation on which the temple of the spirit was to be erected. Its architects, it is true, looked down upon the lower people with aristocratic contempt. But right and justice were the ultimate social goals of the great philosophers, and, in spite of all their aristocratic opposition to democracy, they built on the basic fact that justice was embodied as an idea in a people who lived in political equality and far-reaching social unity, even though it was not embodied in the practices of democratic politics and in everyday life.

The Greeks themselves, and the Athenians more than anyone else, believed in the overriding importance of institutions. The survival of democracy was, however, less due to the working of assembly and council or the power of the law-courts than to the fact that the Athenians had become, as it were, natural democrats. Institutions, however obsolete, lived

on because there were still men steeped in an old and great tradition.

In proclaiming justice as the true goal of the State, Greek philosophy at the same time defeated the attempts of both democrats and oligarchs to proclaim the 'Right of the Stronger'. The comedians, as we have seen, did not deal with this idea,¹ but Thucydides, in the dialogue between the Athenians and the Melians, shows how in external politics the democratic State followed the idea of 'Might is Right', and thus became a perilous threat and danger to the other Greek States.² The oligarch Kritias, on the other hand, who was a clever sophist and an unscrupulous politician, applied the same principle to domestic politics and established the savage rule of the Thirty. In a sense, Thrasyboulos was the predecessor of Plato, for when he led democracy to victory, the statesman overthrew the government of those who later, on the intellectual battle-field, were finally exterminated by the philosopher. Both worked in the service of the Polis when they defeated the practice and doctrine of the 'Superman'. Though even the sophists never believed that *physis* as opposed to *nomos*, nature as against convention and tradition, meant the innate superiority of one people or one race over another, their belief in the right of power, in the case of both the State and the individual, challenged the right of man. Victory was due not to democracy or aristocracy, but to the true spirit of State and people, and it will always be the same whenever the same challenge is made.

In recognizing the close connection between the political philosophers and the Polis (and no understanding of them is possible without this recognition), we indicate by the abstract conception of the State something which at the same time was a lively group of human beings, who suffered from many faults and shortcomings and who, it is true, became more and more alienated from the State. The people of Aristophanes had once been the people of Perikles, and would soon be the people of Demosthenes. By the same development an upper class, distinguished partly by tradition and partly by education and wealth, was being destroyed, while its individual members were led to the sophists, to Sokrates, to philosophy and political theorizing, and finally to the ethical or eudaemonistic individualism of the Stoics and Epicureans, while the bulk of the

¹ See above, p. 358

² Thuc. V, 84ff

citizens became a people without political direction, and gradually an essentially unpolitical body. The type of the *apragmon* was nothing but 'a private person', no matter whether the individual was concerned with business or intellectual enjoyments or a general *laissez-aller*. Nevertheless, and indeed because of this people, Athens continued to exist. Behind all the storms of politics (and they were not to die down for a long time to come), behind the loss of political strength, wisdom and self-sacrifice, immortal Athens lived on and with her people of petty farmers and petty townsmen.

Social disintegration, however, was going on all the time, and its chief result was the formation of a new upper class, distinct from the majority of the people by prosperity or sometimes even great wealth and also by education, a *bourgeoisie* which, as the economic masters of a multitude of employees, tenants and slaves, took over the task of government.¹ The intellectual interests and civilized enjoyments of the new upper class rested on economic security. We have seen how in the late fifth and early fourth centuries this new form of life began its career in all kinds of economic activities.

It is at this point that a peculiar problem arises. The chief trend was clearly towards an upper class guided by selfish materialism and unpolitical individualism. There always was, on the other hand, an intense political activity, and at least part of the people were still living in the old traditions of Polis life, its patriotism and also its religion. Exactly the same contrasts are described in the most authoritative work on the social history of the Hellenistic age. Rostovtzeff² realizes both sides of the character of that *bourgeoisie* which governed the Hellenistic Polis; but he finds the traditional ways of life by far the stronger force, and he goes so far as to see in the citizen of the third and second centuries B.C. the true heir of the *homo politicus* of the classical age. This cannot be correct, unless there was round about 300 B.C. a complete break and volte-face in the development of the Polis, for which, of

¹ Cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World passim*, in particular II, 1115ff.

² *Op. cit.*, 1119ff, 1125f. I was able to discuss the matter with Professor F. W. Walbank, and I am glad to say that he, coming to the problem from the Hellenistic side, seems fully to agree with my own views. Cf. also Walbank, *CJ R LVI* (1942), 81ff, and *JHS* LXIV (1944), 13, and Momigliano, *JHS* LXIII (1943), 116f.

course, there is not the slightest evidence Rostovtzeff's own attempt to bridge the gulf between the two contrasting pictures and to subordinate everything to the predominance of tradition and patriotism is very weak indeed and not convincing.¹ The solution, which can here be outlined only very briefly, will be found in a complete shifting of emphasis from the one side to the other

In the course of the fourth century there occurred the frequently mentioned disintegration of a fairly uniform society into the two classes of *bourgeoisie* and proletariat as heralded in Aristophanes' latest plays. The members of either class lived as members of their class and no longer — or at least only partially — as citizens of the State. In a long and gradual process the Polis had changed from a true political community into a society of the educated and well-to-do who enjoyed a fairly comfortable life at the expense of a poor rabble which was not interested in either politics or matters of the intellect. To some extent, the *bourgeoisie* preserved the middle-class body which had been at the core of the citizen body of the previous two centuries, and thus naturally received a legacy which they were bound to cherish. The heirs retained considerable pride in the past glory and present beauty of their city. They displayed a local patriotism which, fighting as it usually was against hopeless odds, now and then gained the appearance of the true Polis spirit, in the end, however, it was less concerned with politics than with gymnasia, games and festivals. The 'political' life of the Hellenistic city was essentially determined by two largely contrasting facts: the lack of real power and the insistence on autonomy. As there was so little power, the autonomy more often than not was only nominal, and at any rate remained a purely parochial affair. There were no true heirs to the political citizens of the classical age.

Once more, we return to the earlier period which is the framework of this book, and to the people who are its subject. The Athenians were a great people, and this greatness was certainly not confined to the short period from the Persian wars to Perikles' death. The inner disintegration, however,

¹ Walbank thinks that Rostovtzeff's picture of the Hellenistic *bourgeoisie* is coloured largely by his observation of the American *bourgeoisie* of today. That is probably true, but the incongruity of the conflicting characteristics remains, whether applied to ancient Greece or modern America

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

THIS book, though I began to think of the subject about fifteen years ago, was actually written during the years 1937-41. In August 1938, at the International Congress of History in Zurich, I read a paper, chiefly on the problems with which I deal in chapters V and VI. Shortly afterwards the blow fell on Czechoslovakia. This is not the place to speak of what then was lost. A few months later I was enabled to come to this country, where I went on with my work, first in London, and later in Cambridge. In the Lent Term of 1940 I lectured on the subject of this book in Cambridge, and during the Trinity Term on the same subject and others at University College, Dublin, to students of both Dublin universities. The book was finished while, for two terms in 1941, I was Classics master at Carlisle Grammar School. Always and everywhere the book was a good companion. The unrest of the time, however, may have left its marks upon it.

In expressing my gratitude to those who have helped me with the book, I wish first to thank Mr Basil Blackwell. He has never ceased to take an encouraging interest in my work, and in the most generous way undertook to publish the book despite all the difficulties of war-time conditions. Anyone who knows what it means to publish a book of this kind even in normal times will appreciate how much I owe to him.

In my task of writing the book in English I enjoyed friendly help from various quarters, though, of course, I alone remain responsible for the text. To put my debts in chronological order, I have first to mention my wife and my two sons, who provided good advice and many corrections. I am sincerely grateful to Miss Norah C. Jolliffe, who readily undertook to revise the MS, but had to give up her valuable collaboration on account of her numerous peace-time and war-time duties. But above all I have to thank Mrs Vivian Wade-Gery, who performed the task of complete revision with untiring devotion and scholarly acumen, and, if I am allowed to pass judgment, with great success.

Professor M. Cary and Professor H. T. Wade-Gery have been good enough to read the galley proofs, and they contri-

buted important suggestions and corrections. Finally, Professor G. B. A. Fletcher kindly gave most valuable help by going very thoroughly through the paged proofs; but because of the late stage part of his suggestions and improvements had, to my regret, to be put aside. In selecting and describing the illustrations I received much advice and help from Mr. C. T. Seltman, Dr. P. Jacobsthal, and Dr. A. Momigliano. With Mr. J. M. Edmonds I had frequent and helpful talks, and to him as well as to Professor G. Norwood I am much obliged for generous permission to make use of their translations of comic fragments. To those I have mentioned, and to others who gave occasional support, I am deeply grateful.

My thanks, however, go out to this country and to all those who have been friends to my family and myself, since we came here. Their active friendship was the decisive factor in our lives during these years of distress. I hope I shall be forgiven for not mentioning names. They are included, all of them, in the dedication of this book, though I am truly aware of the fact that this dedication is only a very small token of my gratitude.

While I was working on the final redaction of the book, which is a description of the Greek (or rather the Athenian) people of more than two thousand years ago, the Greek people of today went through a time of the greatest heroism and the deepest suffering. I cherish the most wonderful memories of the beauty of the land and the lovable friendliness of the people of Greece. May I be allowed to regard this book as a humble homage also to them?

To write history and to live history are two very different things. Deeply thankful for guidance and protection during these years, I feel more than ever the inadequacy and insufficiency of my work. History has become our fate, to live up to it is indeed difficult.

King's College, Newcastle-on-Tyne

June 1942

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

WHEN, after less than two years, the first edition of this book had sold out, war-time conditions made reprinting impossible. I had, at any rate, decided that a mere reprint would not do. The book needed revision and extension. I was dissatisfied with a great number of passages, and more were brought to my notice by the criticisms of friends and reviewers. Looking back to the time when I was preparing the first edition I sometimes wonder at my own — and the publisher's — courage. I had been enabled, largely through the help of friends and colleagues, to overcome most of the set-backs which resulted from my emigration. But I had overestimated my ability — since improved, I hope — of writing idiomatic English, and had underestimated the difficulties before those friends of mine who had generously offered their help, in correcting a manuscript already much corrected and all the time being altered, corrected and extended. In the nightmarish process of shaping and re-shaping the text I was unable to pay equal attention to the matter and the manner of the book, thus a number of obscurities and errors were overlooked. This is my excuse, for what it is worth, for some of the shortcomings of the earlier edition.

The first principle to rule this new edition was to produce a book which would be more readable. For that purpose I removed from the text all words in Greek letters, and — more important — also those tedious obstacles to smooth reading, the references in brackets scattered throughout the text. They can now all be found (and, if desired, easily skipped), together with the notes, at the foot of the page, and I trust that this arrangement, however old-fashioned and unpleasant to look at, will be the lesser evil, and make the book easier to read both to the general reader and to the scholar.

Apart from this re-arrangement, the book has gone through an intense revision of both style and contents. Some arguments have been expanded, some interpretations clarified, others added, some sections completely re-written. References have been checked and mistakes corrected. Euripides has now been added to my subsidiary sources — an omission in the first

edition which could not really be excused on grounds of method. I was also able to read a number of books and articles, some of them published before 1939, which I had not seen previously. Even now there will be some, especially from the war-years, which I have not yet seen. A new and fuller General Index has been included. I may add that a large part of the alterations has been inserted in the Italian version of the book, forthcoming under the title *L'Atene di Aristofane*.

There are few pages which have remained without some alteration, and many now look very different from their predecessors. I dare hope that the book, though unchanged in its general structure and chief conclusions, has undergone a process of real improvement, and will better deserve the generous verdicts expressed in most of the reviews of the first edition.

In the spelling of Greek names I have retained the principle (if there was one) followed in the former edition, since none of my reviewers objected to my practice (Thucydides and Plato, but Aischylos and Alkibiades). I have myself, however, meanwhile come to think of the traditional Latinized forms as so firmly rooted in British soil that I do not propose to repeat the practice of this book anywhere else.

I owe warm thanks to the helpful criticisms which I have received from various sides. I must mention at least one name, that of Professor D. S. Robertson, who sent me a long list of objections and suggestions and discussed several points with me. His frank and patient criticism enabled me to correct a number of slips and some grave errors, in the few cases in which I could not follow his view I found it always necessary to define my own more clearly. I have to thank my elder son for giving me frequent advice on questions of idiom, and I am particularly grateful to Professor T. B. L. Webster for having read through the proofs and giving most valuable suggestions from his wide knowledge of comedy as well as archaeology.

I also want to thank those friends of mine who helped me to obtain some relevant German and Swiss books, they are Professors F. Stahelin (Basle), F. Taeger (Marburg), and J. Vogt (Tubingen).

The first edition was dedicated 'To my British and Irish Friends'. I trust none of them will feel slighted if I now have singled out those friends of myself and my family whose active

P R E F A C E

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and untiring kindness has accompanied our lives from the very moment when in February 1939 they met us on the crowded platform of Victoria Station — nay, even from the distressed days of the winter 1938-39 when we were still in Prague — until the present day.

V. E.

Bedford College
London, N.W.1
November 1949

QUOTATIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Aristophanes' extant plays

After V. Coulon's edition (*Coll Budé*), quoted without the poet's name

A = Acharnians	F = Frogs	Pl = Ploutos
B = Birds	K = Knights	Th. = Thesmo-
C = Clouds	L = Lysistrate	phoriazousai
E = Ekklesiazousai	P = Peace	W = Wasps

Fragments (after Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, the text of Kaibel's edition of Athenaeus has been considered)

frg = Aristophanes The other poets by name, partly abbreviated, in Kock's order

adesp = of unknown author

D (behind number of fragment) = J Demiańczuk, *Supplementum Comicum* (1912)

P (behind number of fragment) = D L Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* (*Loeb Library*), I (1942) For the text of no 40 cf also J M Edmonds, *Mnemosyne* VIII (1939), iff (photos) The fragment 1 Mazon of Kratinos' *Ploutoi* — not printed by Mr. Page on account of its bad state of preservation — was re-published by R Goossens, *Rev et anc* XXXVII (1935), 425

Euripides' plays are cited by their abbreviated Greek titles (*Her* = *Herakles*, *Herakl* = *Herakleidae*) His fragments (*frg.*) are quoted after Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*², some papyri after Page (P, see above) For the *Alexandros* cf. B Snell, *Euripides' Alexandros* (*Hermes, Einzelschriften*, Heft 5, 1937), and F Scheidweiler, *Philologus* LXXXVII (1948), 32iff

Other authors are quoted in the usual way, the fragments (*frg.*) of Lysias and Isaios according to the numeration in the *Coll Budé*

Translations

Some are original, others are by the following translators, whose renderings I have sometimes altered so as to bring them closer to the Greek

Aristophanes' plays. B. B Rogers

Fragments G Norwood (in his book *Greek Comedy*) and J M. Edmonds (in the MS. of an edition and translation of all the fragments which he very kindly put at my disposal)

Abbreviations for periodicals, etc., are the usual ones, e.g.

AJP = *American Journal of Philology*

ATL = Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute*

Lists

BMC = *Catalogue of the British Museum*

Cl Q = *Classical Quarterly*

DLZ = *Deutsche Literatur Zeitung*

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*.

JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

P-W = Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der class. Altertumswissenschaft*

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*

Syll³ = Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecorum* (ed. tertia)

TAPA = *Transactions of the American Philological Association*

The following books are quoted by the author's name only

A M Andreades, *A History of Greek Public Finance*, I (1933)

A Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener* (1886³)

H Bolkestein, *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum* (1939)

G M Calhoun, *Business Life in Ancient Athens* (1926)

P Cloché, *Les classes, les métiers, le trafic* (1931)

M Croiset, *Aristophane et les partis politiques à Athènes* (1906, Engl. translation 1909).

H Francotte, *L'industrie dans la Grèce ancienne* (1900-01)

P Geissler, *Chronologie der altattischen Komödie* (1925)

G Glotz, *Ancient Greece at Work* (1926)

A W. Gomme, *Essays in Greek History and Literature* (1937)

G. M. A. Grube, *The Drama of Euripides* (1941)

A E Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, third edition by A W Pickard-Cambridge (1907).

J Hasebroek, *Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece* (1930)

F M Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums* (1938)

A Meder, *Der athen. Demos zur Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges im Lichte zeitgenössischer Quellen* (Diss. München, 1938)

H Michell, *The Economics of Ancient Greece* (1940)

G Murray, *Aristophanes* (1933)

R A Neil, *The Knights of Aristophanes* (1901)

G Nicosia, *Economia e Politica di Atene attraverso Aristofane* (1935²)

G Norwood, *Greek Comedy* (1931)

L Radermacher, *Aristophanes' Frosche* *Sitzungsberichte Wien* 198 (1921)

R L Sargent, *The Size of the Slave Population in Athens* (Univ. of Illinois Studies in Social Science, vol. XII, 2, 1924).

W Schmid [and O. Stahlin], *Geschichte der griech. Literatur*, part I, vol. IV (1946).

M N Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* I (1946²), II (1948)

U v Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristophanes' Lysistrate* (1927)

E Ziebarth, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Seeraubs und Seehandels* (1929)

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

THE illustrations are not intended to give a survey of the archaeological material connected, in one way or another, with the contents of this book. Their sole purpose is to brighten the book by a few selected specimens of works of art which in a language more impressive and illuminating than that of words show what the Athenians were like. Many of the illustrations belong to an earlier period than that of Old Comedy, nevertheless, they illustrate the essential facts. In the following list I have mentioned the books or papers from which each copy was taken, or to which it seems appropriate to refer, acknowledgments are due, for the permission to print the illustrations, to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and the following publishers: Les Belles Lettres, Paris, F. Bruckmann, Munich, W. de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, Schroll & Co., Vienna, R. Oldenbourg, Munich, H. Schoetz, Berlin.

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INTRODUCTION

THIS book is an attempt to give a historical and sociological account of Athenian life, based on, and illustrated by, one kind of literature in particular, namely Old Attic Comedy. Such an approach may appear unusual, but the method, I hope, can be justified. The 'people' mentioned in the title of the book are not the characters who carry the plots of the comedies, but the people of Athens. If there were any doubt about this, the sub-title should make it clear. I understand sociology as a branch of historical scholarship, and not of systematic philosophy. 'A Sociology of Old Comedy' has to be justified from two points of view, that of sociology, that is to say, of the present position of the study of Greek social and economic life, and that of the peculiar value of Old Comedy as a historical source.

With regard to the former of these two considerations, the following facts may be briefly recalled. It was about the 'seventies of the last century that the social and economic history of Greece and Rome first became a subject of special research, and, very soon, a separate and independent branch of classical studies. It was a real discovery that the Greeks were not only lovers of freedom, wisdom and beauty, the Romans not only soldiers and statesmen, but that they had their social and economic problems, much like those of other ages, and especially, so it seemed, like those of the nineteenth century. The existence of slavery, the occurrence of social wars, and other similar facts were, indeed, already known to earlier scholars. Our attempt to define more precisely an epoch in historical writing necessarily ignores, but does not conflict with, such points of general knowledge; in principle, the definition is true.

The new discovery, though apparently obvious, was in fact a genuine discovery. For the first time, the importance of social and economic conditions in ancient life was recognized. Ancient history, which till about the middle of the century had been either political or else idealizing and aesthetic (when indeed it was not purely antiquarian), now came under the influence of the materialistic outlook which dominated the historical conceptions of the time. Hitherto only August

Boeckh, far ahead of his time both as historian and epigraphist, had found for ancient historians the beginning of the path to social and economic history.¹ Neither Grote nor Curtius, the best representatives of the political and idealizing schools respectively, led in that direction. Greek history (with which alone we are concerned) had no Mommsen. It was for the time being at a standstill and needed an impulse from outside. The ideas of political economy, and the prevalent interest in modern social and economic history, provided that impulse.

The change of outlook was as productive as it was significant. Even earlier, attempts had been made to free history from a too rigid antiquarian outlook and to make it live by actualizing and modernizing the past. Mommsen's *History of Rome*, with its passionate vivacity and its splendid style, was a brilliant example of this kind of writing. The general tendency to modernize the past coincided with the particular tendency of economic history. The historians of antiquity now learnt to investigate entirely new spheres of life, and it is easy to understand that at first in formulating their problems they adopted the methods of their teachers, the writers of modern history and the political economists. The outstanding importance of economics in the political and social life of their own day made historians suppose that economics had a like importance in antiquity. The details of economics in the ancient world were interpreted, and the general conception of its history was expounded, in the spirit and terms of contemporary circumstances. Almost all the features of the modern social system were discovered in Greece and Rome: industry and factories, wholesale trade and large ship-owners, capitalists and proletarians. Such, until a short time ago, was the view of ancient economics held by historians, for instance, in Germany, France and Italy. In England and America, it was in some measure corrected by natural common sense.²

The prevailing view was challenged by a political economist,

¹ It is interesting to note that also the discussion of fundamental aspects of ancient economic history began as early as Boeckh. He attacked (I, 65) Heeren's opinion, who denied, in the same way as the modern group of scholars we shall describe later, that there was any mutual influence between State and trade.

² Compare Sir Alfred Zimmern's *Greek Commonwealth* (1931⁸). Though its approach to the subject is primarily aesthetic, this outstanding book is a very valuable attempt to make clear the special character and importance of Greek economics. Cf. *Gnomon*, I (1925), 144f.

K. Bucher. His prolonged and vigorous opposition, however, had no great effect on historical writing, for it was founded mainly on the very extreme and one-sided theory of Rodbertus, and this theory — that in ancient times there existed no other economic unit than the self-contained household, the *oikos* — undoubtedly runs counter to the facts given in our sources. Later the great sociologist Max Weber put forward a wider and perhaps more profound theory. He distinguished two types, that of the political and that of the economic man, representatives of the ancient and modern world respectively, and this theory gave a new and fruitful impulse to historical research. A new generation of scholars, deeply impressed by it, set themselves to re-examine the foundations of economic history. In addition, they were convinced that it was their general task not to modernize the past, but to keep distant ages in proper perspective, that is to say, to understand and interpret every historical phenomenon, as far as possible, in the light of its own conditions and its special way of existence.

Very soon, however, the pendulum swung in the opposite direction. The chief conclusion then reached was the primitive nature of ancient economics embodying an entirely 'unmodern' way of life, except, to some extent, in the Hellenistic and later Roman ages. Prof Hasebroek, who had at first accepted the established view, subsequently rejected it. He asserted the primitive character of Greek trade and industry, and arrived at the conclusion that economics were, in the Greek world, of almost no importance at all. In his view there was no real connection between politics and economics, between the State on the one hand, and trade and industry on the other. The human type of ancient Greece and Rome, the *zoon politikon*, the 'political animal', once postulated by Aristotle, and reconstructed in M. Weber's definition of the *homo politicus*, the 'political man', became, in Hasebroek's restricted view, the historical citizen, the *polites* of archaic and classical Greece.¹

¹ The relevant books of Bucher, M. Weber and others are quoted in Hasebroek's two books *Staat und Handel im alten Griechenland* (1928), and *Griech. Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte bis zur Perserzeit* (1931). In the Anglo-Saxon world Hasebroek's ideas have been largely rejected or ignored — in spite of the English translation of his earlier book. But the short and lucid paper of L. R. Lind (*Economic Man in Ancient Athens* *Class. Journ.* XXXV (1939-40), 27ff) is entirely under his influence. We are indebted to Prof. Gomme for some

The two views were not merely different interpretations of certain historical facts. They embodied two different principles, two methods of assessing the place and importance of economics in the life of antiquity. Whereas the older generation overestimated their importance, Hasebroek and his pupils denied them almost all significance. The two principles may be briefly, though perhaps over-simply, summarized thus: according to the one, the facts of economic life had the same nature and importance in the past as they have at the present day, for human economics at all times follow the same or at least similar laws. The other maintains that economic circumstances in different ages differ entirely both in their nature and in their importance. Since among ancient peoples they were on the whole primitive, their practical importance was negligible.

Hasebroek's violent polemic clearly went much too far, but was nevertheless of great value. Once again current views were re-examined. The need to steer a middle course between the two extremes has for some time past been recognized by many scholars, and, from various points of view, much good work has been done. To some extent, all this work culminates in the two lengthy volumes of Prof. Heichelheim's *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums* (1938). He gives a wide general survey, based on an extensive knowledge of archaeological and numismatic evidence on the one hand, and of economic theories on the other. Although Heichelheim keeps clear of the methods which led to both the extreme views we have described, his work lacks, in a way, historical 'differentiation'. By this I mean that the special character of an age or a people, the peculiar atmosphere of its life, are ignored, presumably of set purpose, because the author writes from the standpoints of economic theory as well as of universal history. I gratefully acknowledge what I have learnt from his book as well as from writers like Glotz, Andreades, Oertel, Bolkestein, and many others.¹ I owe to them much more than is expressed by the very sound observations on the economy of classical Athens (42ff, also in *European Civilization*, I, 637ff).

¹ A full bibliography up to about 1926 is given by Mr M. N. Tod to his excellent chapter in the *Cambr Anc Hist*, vol V (1927). Since the publication of Heichelheim's work, Professor H. Michell has published a useful, if somewhat unhistorical, survey of Greek economics, and Professor M. Rostovtzeff, in an interesting chapter of his great work *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (1941), has dealt with the fourth century B.C.

few quotations in the notes. But I do not believe that their work has made my own attempt superfluous, in particular since it is not meant to rival them in their special fields.

This book deals only with a short period of history, but on the other hand, is not restricted to purely economic problems. It tries to give a cross-section of the whole of Athenian life. Economics naturally play their part, and indeed one of increasing importance; but in order to see this part in the true light of history, it is of little help to deal with economics as an isolated subject, as the contents of *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*. The author hopes that this consideration will serve to justify his undertaking, since he must admit that he is no trained economist. The method of the book is not entirely new, and is in part familiar to every historian; it departs, however, from the usual methods of modern research in one respect. It need hardly be mentioned that in the author's view, too, it is essential, in the preliminary stages, to collect all the relevant material from every available source and to draw from it all possible and reasonable conclusions; but this is not always enough. Too often, as a result, we are offered as a reconstruction of life what is in fact no more than the sum of single facts, sadly lacking in general atmosphere.

We are concerned here only with the problems of classical Athens. Our possible sources are, first, archaeological evidence; secondly, numerous inscriptions and coins (single pieces and hoards), in addition, speeches delivered in court, some theoretical treatises and pamphlets, and a great mass of quotations from comedy as well as other general literature.

Historical conclusions from archaeological evidence are always somewhat dangerous, unless they can be checked by other sources. The clear facts and figures of coins and records are, beyond doubt, a most valuable source, reliable and matter-of-fact. But do they correspond to the real facts? To invert a famous phrase, *quod est in actis, non est in vita* — or at least one may say, *in vita esse non certum est*. Single facts, even though they may be entirely true and exact, do not take on life until they become part of a greater unit; until they do so, they may often be interpreted *in duas partes*. Statistics can, and often do, give uncertain and misleading results, because the classifications which they adopt are often too wide, and so do not always reveal the true significance of the facts. This is the more likely

to happen when the material is so incomplete and of so incidental a nature as that available for ancient times.¹

Other sources are inadequate in a different way. All literature that deserves the name, whether poetry or prose, is a work of art — in Zola's famous definition: 'un coin de la création vu à travers un tempérament'. But quite apart from this inherent nature of all literary sources, there are particular circumstances that make for historical ambiguity. The forensic speeches, for instance, are preserved without the supplement and corrective of the counter-pleas. They provide important material, addressed as they were to an audience of ordinary citizens, and bound to agree with their standards and ideas. But this very dependence of the orators on the minds of their audience, and the necessity to plead and not to describe impartially, can also cause serious misrepresentation.² Still, the background picture of a case in court, though the light is always turned on a small section only, must be at least as true to the facts as that of comedy.

The theoretical treatises are necessarily subjective, and it is impossible, beyond a certain point, to separate what is said from the writer's purpose or the points he wishes to prove. No doubt, the political and sociological dialogues of Plato, or Xenophon's *Poroi*, embody ideas which were meant to be put into practice, and it would be wrong to take them as merely Utopian. Nevertheless, these books do not give a picture of reality. All these sources, just as much as Ps.-Xenophon with his violent sarcasm, can and must be used as contributors, but only as such. In particular, they will help to decide whether in some doubtful cases the evidence of comedy is distorted or not.

We should note another point. Questions of history, in so far as they are questions of human behaviour, are ultimately questions of psychology, and this aspect becomes even more important when we try to interpret facts known to us only from scanty and fragmentary tradition. In considering the nature of Greek economics and Greek society we have to find out not only the facts of external life, but the psychological reactions to them, both of individuals and of society. We have

¹ Cf A. H. M. Jones, *Ancient Economic History* (Inaugural Lecture, London, 1948).

² F. R. Earp, *The Way of the Greeks* (1929), 10 ff., is right in stressing also the different reliability of the various orators.

to discover the way in which a single man, or men in general or men in a particular group, think and act in regard to their economic circumstances. Only then will these circumstances take on real life. Here, in order to avoid misunderstanding, I should like to make it clear that these psychological reactions are themselves facts, not abstract reconstructions nor an attempt to explore the 'depths of the unconscious'. We do not ask for documentary correctness (it is not available), but for truth and reality. Our task is to make clear the 'atmosphere' created by the social and economic conditions of life, and to characterize, in its variety and its unity, the people who lived in this atmosphere. That does not mean a sum of single facts, but the total of life in which each single fact lives and grows and dies. This is, of course, an ideal goal, and I do not pretend that this attempt will succeed in reaching it; but the goal should be kept in sight.

Every source will answer some of our questions better than other sources, and some worse. We have therefore no right to neglect any of them, and I do not propose to do so. But if we find a fairly full and satisfactory picture of our subject in one kind of source, it is justifiable and even advisable to base our own description on it, and only to correct it and fill the gaps from other evidence. This is actually the method used by every modern historian when he has to follow in his narrative the lines drawn by one of the great Greek or Roman historians. Our position is only slightly different. We do not want a narrative, we want a mirror reflecting real life.

Possibly even those who have accepted my arguments so far will hesitate when I say that the source to which our quest for reality leads us, is Old Attic Comedy. For what kind of literature is less concerned with reality than the fantastic comic drama, 'still damp from its origins of vine and country'?¹ The nature and spirit of comedy we shall try to discuss, in part at least, in the following chapters, but at this stage it seems desirable to show the direction our arguments will take, and to turn for a moment to the second of the two considerations which we raised when outlining the scope and method of this book, that is to say, the peculiar value of Old Comedy as a historical source.

We shall best grasp and comprehend the 'atmosphere' of

¹ A. Bellessort, *Athènes et son théâtre* (1934), 297.

which we have spoken, if we can do so at all, when a source answers our questions without intending to do so. Perhaps the greatest and most real difficulty in all historical writing is to find out and reproduce what in our sources is implied but not said, or is said only unconsciously. Matters which were taken for granted as self-evident to the author and his contemporaries are never directly referred to at all. Such hidden facts lie in every source, and many of them will probably lie hidden for ever, though in some sources they are more difficult to recover than in others. For example, in forensic speeches on a commercial subject, the economic circumstances are themselves the 'case', they are the primary concern of the speaker, and are therefore moulded consciously and deliberately. It is my belief that nowhere but in comedy are the facts of social and economic life given merely as a background and to create an atmosphere. We must, of course, take into account all possible sources of error, such as comic exaggeration and distortion, unreal and impossible events, 'typical' persons and topics. Even so, we have in comedy excellent evidence of many real facts, above all of those relating to the general conditions of life which form the background of the comic plot, a background self-evident to poet and audience.¹

Our object, therefore, is something quite different from an attempt to draw from comedy new information on political events or conditions, nor do I consider a comedian as one who gives expression to fixed political views. It has rightly been observed that the very fact of his being a comedian compelled the poet to be 'against the government' — whatever government it might be.² Aristophanes did not write his comedies to fight democracy. The question has often been asked whether he had any higher purpose at all than only to entertain his audience. In recent times, the interpretation of the true nature of Old Comedy has oscillated between two extreme views which regarded the comedian either as a mere jester or as a serious educator and critical moralist.³ There is much to be

¹ Cf J Burckhardt, *Griech Kulturgeschichte*, IV, 280 '*Aristophanes, welcher, sobald er von bestimmten Einzelnen redet, der starkste Verleumder sein darf, kann, wo er Handlungsweisen überhaupt schildert, nur Sachen gesagt haben, welche jedermann kannte und kenntlich fand*'

² Cf G Kaibel, *P-W* II, 985

³ The discussion between the two extremist views has been going on for several generations. Recent examples are provided by the following dissertations,

tastic. The people who, in fact, speak through comedy (we shall try to prove it in detail in the following chapter) are the people both on the stage and on the seats, the performers as well as those who listen and look on.¹ We, too, can hear the people's voice if we listen to comedy. Here the reality of the people is not displaced by the myth, sacred or rationalized, as in tragedy, nor largely lost in the aloofness of the political historian as with Thucydides or in the abstractions of philosophy.² In comedy it may be hidden, but it is never destroyed. The play stands in between and blocks the view, but behind and beyond the play is life, quiet or vivacious, above all and unquestionably real. This is what we seek to uncover. We shall not do justice, alas! to the poets as they deserve, either as dramatic or as lyrical poets, or even as comedians. This follows from the nature of the case, and once and for all, let me apologize to their memory and to the reader.

The importance of economic questions in comedy is well understood. Some scholars have even tried to prove that Aristophanes was an expert in economic theory, familiar with the laws of modern political economy.³ This is surely wrong. Nobody, indeed, believes that the poet was himself an economist, but he is said to have known the laws of economic life, most of which were not discovered before the nineteenth or twentieth century.⁴ Did he, perhaps, study books on political economy? Impossible. From the *Poroi* of Xenophon we know

¹ It is the unqualified closeness of Old Comedy to the real life of the people that makes any comparison with modern musical comedy or with a Gilbert and Sullivan opera so inappropriate. Mr Punch is a nearer relation.

² A friend, headmaster of a well-known Public School, wrote: 'It seems to me that it is an extremely good idea to turn from the literature in which Athens is depicted as more than life size to comedy where her geese are ducks instead of swans.'

³ Cf. besides R. Gonnard, *Rev. d'économie politique*, 18 (1904), 53ff, the interesting book of the Italian economist G. Nicosia, the only specific work on the subject known to me. The author aims more at economic theory than at historical reality, but I agree with his statement that Aristophanes grants us '*la visione del momento economico nelle sfere della produzione e del consumo*'. I was unable to see a more recent book by the same author *Aristofane e il pensiero politico greco* (1939) — In a paper by Y. Urbain, *Les idées économiques d'A. (L'Antiquité Class. 8 (1939), 183ff)*, the poet is actually represented as engrossed in certain economic theories and laws.

⁴ Cf. Urbain, 199 '*La théorie de la valeur développée par cet auteur a été formulée — entre 1830 and 1870*'.

the nature of theoretical economic literature in his day, though this pamphlet is based on some general suppositions, its author was not even aware of the possibility of economic rules and laws, much less of their existence.¹ Nor can we suppose that more scientific works on the subject, now lost, were current, for some traces of them would survive in the works of Aristotle, who wrote so much on *oikonomia*. This is an *argumentum ex silentio*, but by the analogy of political literature it holds good. Moreover, no one familiar with pre-Aristotelian (or even Aristotelian) speculation and science will be surprised by the absence of economic theory. Modern scholars who attribute such theoretical knowledge to Aristophanes argue roughly in this fashion. When the poet states some single fact, or refers to an event, of economic life — for instance, that during the war arms are easier to sell than agricultural tools, and that after the war the position is reversed² — he is supposed to allude to a familiar economic law, in this case that of supply and demand. Granted that Aristophanes' judgment on economic facts was sound, and that his view of them frequently agrees with the results of modern theory, this proves nothing more than that he was a shrewd and interested observer of life. Nobody will deny this nor indeed that his interest in economics was characteristic of him and his time.

This is part of the value of Old Comedy as a source of social and economic history, a use to which it has long been put. Even from this point of view, however, the subject has never received full treatment, and many new quotations may be added to those already current. More important is the fact that comedy has not yet been adequately used as a source which unconsciously illustrates social life, and which provides something more than single facts. The picture which in the end it will provide cannot be complete, and, as we have said already, other contemporary sources must and often will be taken into consideration.³ But they remain subsidiary. They must never be allowed to interfere with our real aim, the re-

¹ The book is, however, not Utopian. Many of its ideas are, if not actually practicable, certainly intended to be so. Cf. K. von der Lieck, *Die xenophontische Schrift von den Einkünften*. Diss. Cologne, 1933.

² P. 1198ff.

³ The generation of Plato, Demosthenes, and Hypereides lies outside the limits of our period. Cf. next chapter, first section.

creation of the 'atmosphere' which can be found only in comedy.

Lysias, for example, and others of the earlier orators will provide many interesting facts of everyday life confirming as well as supplementing the evidence of comedy. Ps-Xenophon and Thucydides are essential witnesses, however different their attitudes. Xenophon and others have something to add, as have epigraphic and numismatic sources. But there is among the subsidiary sources one which probably gives a deeper insight into the mind of the Athenians than any other evidence. Tragedy is the chief source for our knowledge of the intellectual, literary and religious developments of the fifth century. Although there is no reason for including here all of it, there is a strong cause for doing so in the case of Euripides. He was the true contemporary of Old Comedy in spirit as well as in time. He was one of the main targets for Aristophanes' wit and scorn, but he was at the same time a most influential factor in shaping Aristophanes' own mind and art. The comedian's attitude to men and gods, his technique in inventing intricate plots, his scheme of 'saviours' who brought rescue and salvation — all this and more was at least partly a debt to the tragedian who was closest to reality, whose characters 'speak in human fashion', and whose plays treat the myth as a human affair.¹

Comedy, however, will be the leading source, because it can supply what no other source contains. On this foundation it is legitimate to build our reconstruction of reality, or at least such parts of reality as are recoverable by us. Often, it is true, we may not be able to add much to a picture that was well known before. Sometimes we may find more and can lay stress on neglected or overlooked facts; thus we may be able to shed new light on familiar problems. Sometimes new questions will be asked, and tentative answers may be given. In a field like this, the chance of really new and important discoveries is limited, but the mere fact of a full synthesis, the attempt to

¹ F 1058, frg 3 D: ἀνθρωπικὸς μῦθος — Since in general we do not aim at exploring Euripides' own views, but those of his time, we can use utterances by any of his characters, though the exigencies of the plot have to be taken into account. It is, on the other hand, because of the very different nature of Sophokles' poetry and thought that we do not propose to use his plays in any detail.

build up from innumerable pieces the whole picture, should be worth while. It will open new vistas and views, although even the most careful investigation cannot hope to illuminate everything. We must always bear in mind what the chorus-leader in the *Peace* tells himself and his audience, and therefore us, his posthumous audience, also: 'There is a lot we don't know.'¹

I hope I have made it clear that this book is not a book on Aristophanes or on Old Comedy. They are its main sources, not its subject, although it is impossible to make good use of any source, and particularly of one so complex as Old Comedy, without seeing it as an entity of its own, and without judging its reactions in the light of its own nature. This book is intended as a contribution to the social and economic history of Athens, and if our emphasis on comedy causes us to overlook some facts — none, let us hope, that are essential — this deficiency ought to be more than compensated for by the unity and uniformity of our main source, and resulting from that, the greater unity of the picture we are trying to draw.

¹ πολλά γ' ἡμᾶς λανθάνει, P.618.

CHAPTER I

OLD COMEDY

It does not lie within the scope of this chapter to give a complete and general characterization of what is called Old Attic Comedy. Questions, for instance, relating to the development of artistic form, or the religious and social antecedents of comedy, though they may arise incidentally, are not fundamentally relevant to our inquiry. The three questions, or groups of questions, with which it is proposed to deal in this chapter, are. (1) The unity of Old Comedy, (2) The poet and his audience, (3) Reality in comedy

I. THE UNITY OF OLD COMEDY

How far is it legitimate to regard the period of Old Comedy as a coherent period in Greek life and history? Old Comedy began before the middle of the fifth century B.C. with Kratinos and Krates — except for a few predecessors of Kratinos, who remain mere names to us ¹. Its end came with a process of internal change which began towards 400 B.C. So far as we know, no one of the important comic poets of the fifth century produced any play later than about 385. The Alexandrian division into Old and New Comedy, which was based on the recognition of decisive differences of form and content, does not seem to have fixed a definite year as a boundary between the two kinds of comedy. It was the later grammarians who, in distinguishing a Middle Comedy, limited it to the period from 404 to 338 (or 336), thus including the two latest extant plays of Aristophanes. These dates are indeed landmarks of political history, but in dealing with comedy we cannot accept the division without reservations. There can be no doubt about the gradual change in comedy after 404, but it is too rigid and artificial to separate from the earlier period the later works of such poets as Aristophanes and Platon, the bulk of whose works belongs to Old Comedy, both in date and character. In general, the whole question of these lines of demarcation, which are in fact zones of demarcation, is of little importance.

¹ The few extant fragments are in part not genuine. Cf. Geissler, 16

It may be remarked, however, that Antiphanes, the first poet who certainly belonged to Middle Comedy, produced his first play about 387, while the latest poets of Old Comedy, such as Strattis and Theopompos, began writing about 410, so that, with no gap in production, there was yet a clear distinction between two generations ¹ For our purpose, at any rate, it is proposed to regard the period of Old Comedy as covering the years 455-385, and as a period, though not usually so regarded, of a real and demonstrable unity ²

At first sight, the history of Athens in those years is not easily conceived as a unity. The period begins with the conclusion of the Persian Wars, and the temporary conclusion of the wars between the Greek States, at its very start stands the removal of the treasury of the Confederacy from Delos to Athens. All this made possible the fifteen peaceful and powerful years of the Periclean Age. Those years were followed by the great war and the collapse of Athens. Then began the struggle which is typical of the fourth century: the varying rivalry of the Greek States, and their varying dependence on foreign powers. But up to 387, this dependence had not yet been formulated in strict and binding terms, and the great influence of Persia on affairs in Greece in the decade following 403 was not dissimilar in character to that of the preceding ten years. The position was finally stabilized by the 'King's Peace', by which Persia guaranteed the autonomy of the Greek States, in a sense, that year 387 was the end of one chapter of history and the beginning of a new one.

The events of the whole of this period of seventy years may be seen as the changing aspect of one picture, the picture of the State and people of Athens, and of her empire. The changes, it is true, were profound, and the year 404-3 stands as a landmark in the process of decline and subversion. But the end of a war is not necessarily the end of an epoch. The results of the war, its aftermath, must be considered as belonging to a period of transition. To the very end, the Athens of the Peloponnesian War had been, in a sense, the Athens of Perikles and

¹ See the Chronological Table, p. 374ff.

² J. Denis, *La comédie grecque* (1886), I, ch. 17 and 18, had already fixed the boundary between Old and Middle Comedy in the year 388 instead of 404. Also Geissler called the last chapter of his book *Die alte Komödie im 4. Jahrhundert*

the Aegean realm. The Athens of Thrasyboulos and Konon showed altered features, but, in a quick and most impressive political recovery, it was concerned to re-create the great traditions of the past; and, further, the events of this period were closely and inevitably connected with those of the last years of the war. The many law-suits which arose out of the events of 411 and 403 are one typical symptom of this fact.

If we turn from the political history of those seventy years to literature and art, which best express the spirit of the age, we have a similar, though somewhat different picture. Aischylos died in 456-5. Sophokles had by then won several victories, but his greatest plays were still to come. Euripides, in 455, produced a play for the first time, so far as we know. Both died in 406, and tragedy survived only in a weak and negligible form. In the spheres of both politics and tragedy, there is a profound parallelism in development. The deeper significance, however, of these dates in the history of literature is brought out by other facts. Soon after 450 Protagoras, and, about the same time, Anaxagoras, had come to Athens, and with them philosophy invaded Athens.¹ Perikles formed his circle of friends in which a new spirit was incarnate. The sophists coined a new type of thought, creed and speech, which, in the succeeding generation, developed into ethical radicalism. This 'age of enlightenment' created the great intellectual experience which culminated in Sokrates. Herodotos, who, about 450, was occupied with his journeys and the writing of some of his *Logoi*, was already influenced by the new spirit; Thucydides was permeated by it. Contemporary with the great war, and its historian, he probably died a few years after 399, the year in which Sokrates was put to death. Sokrates himself represents a turning-point. His pupils, each in his different way, founded on his thought and life as well as on the work of the sophists a new epoch in the development of the human mind.

The parallelism in the development of architecture and art is evident. The building of the Parthenon began in 447, but the work of preparing for it must have been going on for several years. In 437 the Propylaea were begun. The Parthenon was almost finished in 432; the Propylaea remained a

¹ J. S. Morrison dates Protagoras' first arrival in Athens between 460 and 454, but his reasons are not fully convincing (*Cl. Q.* XXXV, 1941, 5).

torso, though only because the original plan was reduced for ritual and religious reasons. During the war the Erechtheion was being built. From the most perfect example of Doric architecture the buildings of the Acropolis had proceeded first to the harmonious union of Doric severity and Ionian lightness, and then to the Maidens' Porch, which, though perfect in its own way, must be regarded as decoration rather than pure architecture. In this process of architectural development, a certain internal dissolution is obvious, though one which certainly does not involve decline. The Long Walls and those of the Peiraeus, after their demolition in 403, were rebuilt in the 'nineties, and afterwards much activity was shown in building. But its purpose and its significance were altered, and a decisive part was now played by private architecture. Sculpture meanwhile went through the development from Pheidias to Praxiteles. These names stand out at each end of a process of change which can be best illustrated by the manner in which the gods were represented. Whereas the statues of Pheidias embodied Olympian majesty and power, the Parthenon frieze already shows the gods, though taller than men, sitting at their ease among human beings. With Praxiteles they became an image of human perfection and perfect humanity. 'Man is the measure of everything.'

What is the significance of these familiar dates and facts in the sphere of intellectual and artistic development? Above all, they prove the continuity in change. They prove that the break of 404 was not a complete break, that indeed in all the change a great tradition lived on, and that the early fourth century, though it opened new roads, was also a fading away of previous times. The dates and facts, however, prove something more. In the same decades in which Athens fought the fight for her empire, and finally for her existence, she experienced the great break which destroyed Attic Tragedy, and created Attic Philosophy. This means, in fact, that the operation of one general process united the years we have fixed as the life-time of Old Comedy. Individualism and rationalism conquered man and State, and it is the dynamic experience of this process which gave to the age its most exciting features. With all its changes, the age of Old Comedy was a unity, and neither political history nor the developments of literature, art and thought prevent us from accepting this unity.

though the chronology must certainly not be neglected. The table at the end of this book shows the general distribution of the comedies and other sources. Two important points, among other things, emerge from this table: the overlapping of the three (or more accurately, two and a half) generations of comic poets, and the fact that the bulk of our material belongs to the years after 431. In some cases, it is true, the date of a fragment is essential for our conclusions. But there was a strong traditional element in the development of Old Comedy, and the facts at our disposal justify us in assuming that the developments of all its seventy years are adequately represented by Aristophanes' working life.

Our subject is the forms of social life, in which the process of change operates much more slowly than in political history. The effects of war and defeat, the social transformation of political leadership, and other changes, are to be observed; but it will be seen that the great outlines remain constant. The relative position of agriculture and trade, for instance, was not quite the same in 400 as in 450, but this does not imply a change of fundamental importance, and the same is true in many other cases. On the other hand, the all-embracing process of change, which was the specific sign of the age, and which culminated in the break of 404, was inevitably reflected in all the individual phenomena of social life. It must be left to detailed treatment to prove that our line of reasoning and interpretation is not forced upon the facts. Naturally, we do not assume that the social life of Athens underwent no change in the course of seventy years, but there are surely many aspects of it where the change was very slight, and we shall not seek to demonstrate the contrary if the evidence of our sources points to a certain general uniformity.

2. THE POET AND HIS AUDIENCE

Every performance of a comedy in Athens was based on a number of social facts.¹ The poets of Old Comedy were Athenian citizens.² Practically nothing is known of their social

¹ Cf. in general the book of Haigh, which in many sections is not yet out of date.

² It is a mistake to assume that Aristophanes was a metec (so, e.g., after others, van Leeuwen). His relation to Aigina (A 653f and schol.) is not to be interpreted in this sense. Cf. Coulon, *Introduction*, p. 111f. Wilamowitz, 40.

standing, but, as far as we know, none of them belonged to the nobility. On the other hand, from the fact that Euripides alone, and none of the comic poets, was derided because of his alleged low origin, we may assume that none, or at least none of the better known comic poets, came from the lower classes.¹ How far we can generalize when a poet's poverty is mentioned, is less certain. At least one of the comic writers was compelled by poverty to sell some of his comedies to rich people who performed them as their own.² Aristophanes, who had an estate in Aigina and left the production of some of his plays to others who thus received the remuneration for a victory, must have been well off³ Other evidence points to other than comic poets. A bad tragedian like Sthenelos is frequently derided on account of his great poverty.⁴ Kinesias, on the other hand, a poet of lyric choruses, declares that he is much sought after by the tribes.⁵ That is, of course, a boast; but as a rule it seems quite possible that many popular poets made a good deal of money. A somewhat obscure statement informs us that Simonides and even Sophokles were very eager to make money by their poems.⁶ The poets who took part in the tragic or comic *agon* received public remuneration, but we have no idea of the amount, though it was certainly in proportion to the poet's place in the result of the *agon*.⁷

A poet who intended to produce one of his plays, had to ask for a chorus to be assigned to him, and the task of assigning choruses was the function of the chief archon for the Dionysia, of the archon *basileus* for the Lenaia.⁸ It might happen that a

Norwood, 202. When Eupolis (357) turns to the audience and complains that 'foreign poets' are preferred, this has the same value as the occasional accusation by a comedian that Phrynichos was a foreigner (schol. F 13). It was only later, in the time of Middle Comedy, that the poets included several non-Athenians, most of whom received the citizenship (Norwood, 40). Among the tragedians there were foreigners, such as Ion from Chios and Achaïos from Eretria.

¹ Euripides' mother a greengrocer: A 478, K 19, Th 387, F 840, cf. adesp. 16.

² Plat. 99.

³ In the case of his first plays, the reasons were different — partly the poet's youth and partly political fear. See below, p. 25f.

⁴ W 313, frg. 151, Plat. 128.

⁵ B 1403f.

⁶ P 697ff. But cf. 'I' B. L. Webster, *Introduction to Sophocles*, 12.

⁷ F 367, Plat. 133, Sannyrion 9, cf. schol. E 102, and in general, R. C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and its Drama* (1936), 268f.

⁸ K 513, F 94, Kratinos 15 — Aristotle, *Ath. pol.* 56, 3 57, 1.

good poet went away empty-handed, while some obscure bungler was awarded the chorus, but generally, under the control of public opinion, the better poets were chosen, and the 'chatterboxes', the 'degraders of their art', only got a chorus once in their lives.¹ The payment of the chorus, which always consisted of citizens, as well as the total cost of the equipment of the play and the festive meal which followed the performance, was the responsibility of the choregus; only the actors were chosen and paid by the archon, that is the State.² The duty of the choregus was not confined to the mere payment of money, but involved weeks of painstaking preparation and care.³ This, however, the choregus left for the most part to the poet and his helpers. Even a choregus who was always victorious did not necessarily understand anything about the technique of the musical part or of producing a play.⁴ There were good and bad choregi. 'Have you ever seen a choregus meaner than him?'⁵ Such a man might well complain that it was no longer possible to give the chorus quite simple clothes and food.⁶ A dinner after the performance was due to the members of the chorus: 'The meat of the grouse is best to eat after a victory on the stage.'⁷ When the chorus of the initiates in the *Frogs* are satisfied with the breakfast they have had, this refers to the men of the chorus rather than to the Athenian procession to Eleusis.⁸ It is well known that the choregy was one of the liturgies which were undertaken as a kind of moral obligation, and at the same time regarded as an honour by wealthy men, it was open at the Dionysia to citizens only, at the Lenaia to metics also.⁹ As a rule, however, a comic choregy was far cheaper than that of a tragedy. Naturally, the costumes of the chorus were simpler, and the artistic task was probably less difficult, though the comic chorus in its own way would aim

¹ Kratinos 15 — P 801ff, F 92ff

² A 886ff, 1154ff — Strattis 1. This practice was probably introduced about the middle of the century, cf K. Schneider, *P-W* III A, 506. Later there was also an *agon* of comic actors at the *Χύτροι*, the last day of the Anthesteria, and this contest was used to select actors for the Great Dionysia (Plut *vitae decem orat.* 841 F, *JG* 2 II/III 2325, p. 675a, cf. Haigh, 31)

³ Antiphon VI, 111ff, cf. frg 115, Plat 213

⁴ This latter was called διδασκαλία. Cf. Xen *mem* III, 4, 3f

⁵ Eupolis 306; cf. Isaios V, 36

⁶ Pherekr 185, Kallias 21

⁷ A 1154ff, frg 433, cf. also frg 253

⁸ F 376

⁹ Schol. Pl 953, cf. Lysias XII, 20

at equal perfection and the comedians claimed that they had to solve more difficult problems than the tragedians.¹ Great statesmen were proud of being victorious with a chorus. But gradually the liturgies became a heavy and unwelcome burden to the rich, and a source of income to at least part of the people.

The chorus, not the actors, not even the plot, was of chief importance (see Plate II). The expressions 'to perform a tragedy' and 'to dance a chorus' could be synonymous, and the dramatic competition could take its name from the *thymele*, the altar around which the chorus danced.² Athens needed the poet, says Dionysos when he has descended to Hades, in order that the city, saved by the poet, 'might maintain her choruses'.³ When the chorus declined and eventually became a merely incidental feature of the play, the connection between comedy and the people became increasingly weaker. 'The chorus was suited to the Agora, but not to the fireside'.⁴ The comic mask, 'the comic bogey', is a symbol of comedy, and it is significant that such masks — both tragic and comic — were hung in the temple of Dionysos.⁵ 'The man is dancing, and all is well with the god'.⁶ Not the 'theatre', but the cult made the performance possible, and gave it meaning.

The poet was the *chorodidaskalos*, the teacher and trainer of the chorus; the 'comic poet' was the 'comedy teacher', and in this quality the true servant of the Muses, just like the 'tragedy teacher'.⁷ This means that he himself wrote the words and

¹ See below, p. 37.

² Ps.-Xen. I, 13. Later, probably for a number of years from 406-5 onwards, the choregy was divided between two men (*συγχορηγία*), until the declining importance of the chorus reduced the expenses, perhaps the general economic situation had also improved to such an extent that the liturgy of single choregy could be restored (about 394), and even the number of comedies performed at one festival increased from three to the traditional number of five (in 388). Cf. K. J. Maidment, *C/ Q* XXIX (1935), 1ff.

³ frg. 873, adesp. 57.

⁴ F 1419.

⁵ Maidment, 8.

⁶ frg. 31, 131.

⁷ Phryn. 9. In reading the words *ἀνὴρ χορεύει καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καλὰ* we remember the famous chorus in Sophokles' *Oedipus Rex* (895ff): *τί δέ με χορεύειν, ἔρπει τὰ θεῖα*, also *Aiax* 701 *νῦν γὰρ ἐμοὶ μέλει χορεῦσαι*, and Eur. *Kykl.* 156. Lobeck (*v. Kock*) compared the Latin proverb *salutis senex, salva res est*. That, of course, would give a much more profane meaning to the words. Mr. Edmonds even takes *τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ* as 'the weather', and compares Theophr. *char.* 25, 2 (cf. also P 1141). The fragment seems to be too small to make any one of these interpretations certain.

⁸ A 628f, P. 734, 737, B 912f, Th. 88.

rehearsed the music and the dancing of the chorus. There was a special kind of dance for every chorus, appropriate to the character it represented in the play, and there were different melodies suited to the various songs, for example, the exit song of the chorus.¹ Thespis and Aischylos are said to have themselves planned the figures of the dances for their choruses, indeed, the drunken old man in the *Wasps* actually challenges the tragic poets to a competition in dancing, and the Muse is warned not to admit certain bad tragedians who were equally bad dancers.² The rehearsal of a chorus asked for an almost military discipline,³ but even so it cannot always have been simple to teach the men who formed the chorus to sing and dance correctly. Some of them may not have been very musical, and it is doubtful whether the wine always had, as the poet hopes, the necessary effect.⁴ Sometimes there was considerable strain between poet and chorus, certain tragedians are said to have been hated by the choruses, and Kinesias was called 'the chorus-killer'.⁵ The poet was content if the chorus fulfilled their task sufficiently well.⁶ Sometimes the poet himself was his own chief actor, and at least he instructed the actors.⁷ These, and perhaps the musicians also, though citizens, were more or less professionals.⁸ But the poet was composer, dance-master, producer, probably also the technical manager who gave his orders to the technician about the working of the various stage-devices such as the *ekkyklema*, which occasionally went wrong.⁹ Thus, the task and the responsibility of the poet were immense. We can understand that Aristophanes did not produce his first plays, his 'maiden's children', himself.¹⁰ Being very young, he

¹ F 1028f, frg. 678-9, Plat 130 — ἐξόδιοι νόμοι, Kratinos 276

² W 1479, frg. 677 — W 1480f — P 781ff, cf W 1497ff

³ Xen *mem* III, 5, 18

⁴ adesp. 468

⁵ K 400f, Kallias 13 — ὁ χοροκτόνος, Strattis 15

⁶ The word is μετρίως, and used as it is by the chorus when leaving the stage at the end of the play (C 1510, Th 1227), it may refer to the extent rather than the quality of the singing and dancing

⁷ Cf Anonymus, Kaibel, *Com Gr Frg*, p. 7f. For the early tragedians see Aristotle, *rhet* 1403b, 23

⁸ W. 1275ff. There are only very few suggestions in Old Comedy of the growing importance of the actors, the most significant is the mere fact of an *agon* of the protagonists, which was introduced during our period (cf Schneider, *P-W*. IIIA, 500ff). For the later development cf in general H. Bulle, *Festschrift für J. Loeb* (1930), 5ff.

⁹ P 174, Th 265, adesp. 750.

¹⁰ A. 628f, K 512f, C 529ff.

did not feel equal to the task. But he also employed a special 'producer' on some later occasions.¹

In addition to these general tasks, there was the special situation of the political poet. He had to keep in touch with the most recent events, and therefore frequently added to his text and made alterations up to the time of the performance.² At the same time, there were particular dangers which a political poet had to fear. Young Aristophanes had a taste of them himself, when Kleon, a year after the punishment of Mytilene, brought him before the council on a charge of slandering the State in the presence of allies and other foreigners. 'I do not say *the State*', he therefore emphasized in the next year.³ A year later he attacked Kleon in the strongest and sharpest possible terms, with Kleon himself listening, no doubt, from the front row, for he had the right of *prohedria* since his success at Pylos the year before.⁴ The same play, the *Knights*, introduced the Demos, led by Kleon, as an old doddering blockhead. We are told that the Athenians would not tolerate the deriding and slandering of the demos, but encouraged caricatures of individuals. The exact meaning of this passage is much disputed and uncertain.⁵ At any rate, it is

¹ Cf A. Korte, *P-W* XI, 1330ff. In such a case, the 'teacher of the chorus' was mentioned in the official records (ἐδίδασκε ὁ δεινός), while the poet's name appears in the list of the victors which served mainly literary interest.

² Cf A. Ruppel, *Konzeption und Ausführung der aristoph. Komödie*, Diss. Giessen, 1913, *passim*.

³ A 377ff, 502ff — 515f.

⁴ K 702, cf 573ff.

⁵ Ps-Xen II, 18. Cf E. Kalinka, *Die pseudoxenophontische Schrift etc.* 7ff. K. I. Gelzer, *Die Schrift vom Staate der Athener* (*Hermes, Einzelschr.* 3), 71f, 128f. The discussion is about the date and the nature of several 'laws' against comedy. I cannot go into detail, but I wish to emphasize that Prof. Wade-Gery has made a suggestion which may be the decisive step towards a solution of the intricate question, namely that Ps-Xen II, 18 is not speaking of a law at all, but simply defining actual practice. It is most remarkable that nobody (the present writer included) realized before that the words of the text are not more than a statement about general tendencies, a statement which was contradicted (perhaps deliberately) by the *Knights*. Wade-Gery's view is more convincing, because it is more comprehensive, than the opinion expressed by Kalinka and others (cf. the discussion by Meder, 21ff), who take Ps-Xenophon's statement to refer only to Kleon's action after the performance of the *Babylonians*, 'ein einzelner Fall, dessen typischer Charakter zu einem allgemeinen Urteil zu berechnen schien'. Both interpretations are in full harmony with what I say about the relations between the poet and his audience. Ps-Xenophon exemplifies once

important to note that the remarkable comic licence could have its limits¹. It is somewhat surprising that Perikles seems to have been the first to introduce a kind of censorship; this happened during the dangerous revolt of Samos in 440, and the law remained in force for three years². About the year 415, a similar attempt was made by one Syrakosios, though its operation is obscure³. On the other hand, Kleon's treatment of Aristophanes proves that a single citizen or member of the council had the means of bringing before the judges a comedian who is supposed to have offended public interests. Yet such incidents must not conceal the fact that what was really unique was not the occasional limitation and risk, but the unheard-of liberty of comedy. In no other place or age were men of all classes attacked and ridiculed in public and by name with such freedom as in Old Attic Comedy. The ultimate reason for this, apart from the magnanimity and the sense of humour which were inherent in the Attic character, was the fact that comedy was an internal affair of the sovereign people as a whole, and so there was complete *parrhesia*, freedom of speech. Kleon was therefore justified in calling attention, in his denunciation, to the presence of foreigners

In a Greek Polis no citizen can be said to have been a private person, this is particularly obvious of the dramatic poet. He was a citizen who, together with a number of his fellow-citizens, presented a play to some thousands of people in the audience who also were for the most part citizens. Furthermore, in an *agon*, a contest with other poets in a single day's performance, he submitted himself to the judgment of his audience and a few specially chosen judges. In a preliminary ceremony, the so-called *proagon*, the chorus and the actors, the choregus and the poet had appeared on the stage of the Odeion; in this way, they were introduced to the people. Although our casual sources which refer to the *proagon* deal only with tragedy, it is possible that lyric choruses as well as again the intense and active interest the spectators took in the plays. A similar view to Wade-Gery's is also expressed by H. Frisch, *The Constitution of the Athenians* (1942), 279.

¹ Cf. Korte, 1233ff, also the summary in Geissler, 17.

² Schol. A 67.

³ Phryn. 26, cf. Eupolis 207. C. Jensen, *Abh. Preuss. Ak.* 1939, No. 14, 124, finds an allusion to the law of Syrakosios (used by Kleophon) in Eupolis 40 P, 27ff.

comedies took part in it.¹ The relation of poet, chorus and actors to the audience was the same for all these kinds of poetry, but tragedy and in most cases also the choral lyric were too remote in their mythical themes to allow the situation to be expressed in words. It was the privilege of the comedian to make it clear that there were no barriers and no imaginary curtain between stage and audience. Citizens they were on both sides, united and linked together in space and spirit. Comedy is seen to be a social phenomenon, and so to demonstrate most plainly the social character of the Greek theatre.

The audience was the Athenian people, the same people who formed the assembly. There were, at the Dionysia at least, foreigners in the audience, allies, ambassadors, and metics; but these few hundreds were unimportant, compared with the many thousands of Athenian citizens.² 'I don't fear you', says

¹ Aristophanes wrote a comedy *Proagon* (frg 461ff). The only other possible allusion in comedy is in A 9ff. In both cases it is a tragedy that is referred to. In general cf. E. Rohde, *Kleine Schriften*, II, 381ff, Haigh, 67. It is true that 'a comedy would have suffered much more than a tragedy by a previous declaration of subject and (possibly) of treatment' (A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Cl. Rev.* LVIII, 1944, 20). But was this the idea of the *proagon*? Rohde has made it clear that no ἄγων was involved, and the whole thing was hardly more than an act of presentation and introduction, which included even the poet. Our main source (schol. Aeschyl. III, 67) speaks of an ἐπίδειξις. The scene in *Plat. Symp.* 194B does probably not refer to the *proagon* (P. W. Harsh, *Cl. Phil.* XLIV, 1949, 116f).

² Boys, the citizens of the future, were naturally included in the audience (C 539, P 50, 766, Eupolis 244), cf. A. A. Bryant, *Boyhood and Youth in the Days of Aristophanes* (*Harvard Studies*, XVIII, 1907), 96ff. The question whether women were present at the performances of both tragedies and comedies is much disputed. The joke of P 966 does not prove anything. *Plat. Gorg.* 502d, where not only women, but also slaves are included, hints at a general ῥητορικὴ of which tragedy is only part. Haigh, 323ff, by collecting all the available material, tries hard to prove the presence of women — unsuccessfully, as I feel. 'The contrary cannot be finally proved either, but I believe it.' The long address to all sorts of spectators (P 50ff) lends at least some support to this view: the slave wants to tell the story to boys and lads and men, also to the great and greatest men, there is no mention of women, though it may be that it would have spoiled the intention to enumerate men 'in an ascending scale of manliness'. Other passages of comedy, however, strongly suggest that only men were in the theatre (P 965, L 1044, Th 395ff, E 165ff, 435ff, 1144ff), and I do not think that schol. E.22 or Aristides, *or.* XXIX, 13, 19, 30, can override this evidence, cf. also H. van Herwerden, *Aristophanes' Eneide*, II, 168f. However, even if this view be right, as I believe, the whole question must not be regarded from a moralistic point of view. There was no prudishness in Athens, at any rate not before the Hellenistic

Kleon to the sausage-seller and the knights, 'as long as the council is alive, and the figure of Demos smiles, sitting on the benches.'¹ Kleon means the assembly and perhaps the courts, but he hints at the audience. Even if some people preferred, as they undoubtedly did, the sphere of politics, while others found the excitements of tragedy and comedy more to their liking, the general composition of assembly and theatre was the same. In many ways the playwright, in particular the comedian, worked upon the minds of the people by means similar to those used by the orator in the assembly.²

The gap between the play on the stage or in the orchestra and the public is bridged by many utterances. Each year, there came 'to the art', that is to see the play, that multitude, the number of which — like 'the sand of the sea' — is given as 'numberless myriads', or as 13,000, this, though not of course exact, is not without significance.³ Tragedy and comedy were the concern of the whole people, and part of their common experience. Quite often the dialogue or the song of the chorus alludes in some way to the audience who are thus drawn into the action of the play. Reference to outstanding examples will make this clear. Sometimes a situation is directly explained to the audience to enable them to understand it, or 'a pert young witling' will put questions with regard to the play which may be answered by a neighbour, or the spectators are asked to guess what they do not know, though they usually guess wrong.⁴ Or on the other hand, the public is represented as the cleverer party, as an 'assembly of all-wise old men', whose judgment is decisive, who know better 'whilst all the chorus

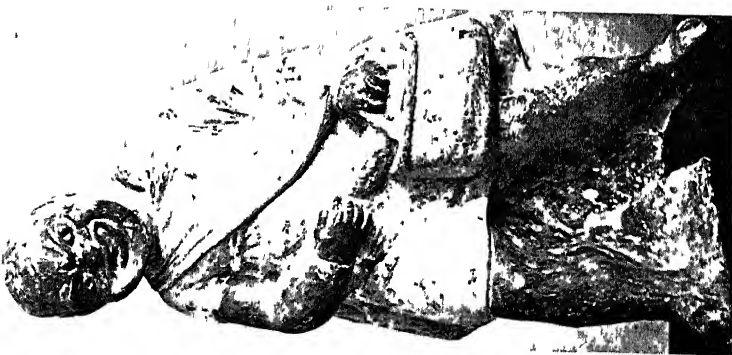
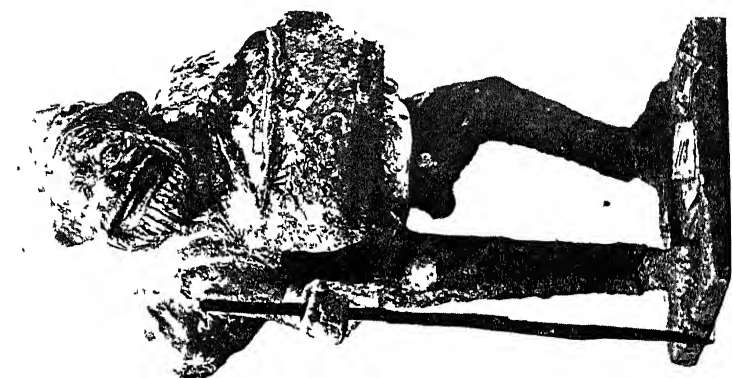
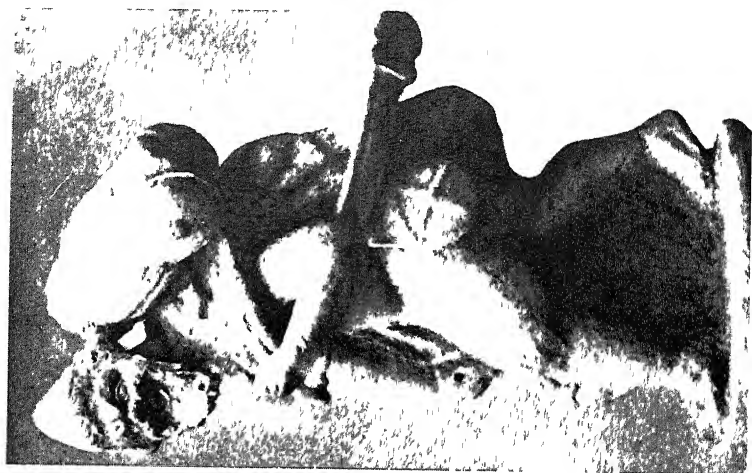
Age, and I doubt whether Mme Stael was right when she thought that the obscenity of Old Comedy was due to the fact that no women were in the audience (cf W Suss, *Aristophanes u. die Nachwelt*, 100) [See Addendum, p 418]

¹ K 395f

² Much evidence for this — though not all valid — can be found in A Burckhardt, *Spuren der athen Volksrede in der alten Komodie*, Diss Basel, 1924

³ Kratinos 23, Eupolis 286 — W 1010 Pl 1082f. Here I read (with Coulon, after Rutherford and Willems) ὑπὸ μυρίων τε τῶνδε καὶ τρισχιλίων. The MSS have ἑτῶν τε (or γε). Neither ἑτῶν nor ἑτῶν makes sense. There is a certain difficulty in reading 'by these ten thousand and by three thousand (more)'. But is it too bold to assume that this is a facetious way of expressing the large number — usually expressed by μύριοι alone — of those 'whose sport the old hag has been'? In W 1391 we have a similar use of two numbers forming a high total

⁴ W 54ff, P 50ff, B 30, E 583. Plat 167 — P 43ff — W 71ff, 85



b
TYPES OF OLD COMEDY

a

stand like idiots by'.¹ Euripides can be blamed for dealing with 'scenes of common life' which the audience knew something about; a comedian would never be blamed for this.²

The connection becomes even closer, when 'the house' is given a part in the play.³ They are told to sing hymns at some good news from the stage, or an old hag complains that she is being abused 'in front of so many men'.⁴ 'You see', the chorus asks the sausage-seller, 'those people on the benches? — I do — You shall be overlord of all those people'.⁵ When the goddess of Peace appears, one can guess from the faces of the spectators their different vocations — whether they have gained or lost by the war.⁶ But the goddess will not speak one word to the audience; 'they have wronged her far too much for that', so that Hermes addresses the people, communicating her questions and complaints.⁷ The Just and the Unjust Logos wish to fight their *agon* in front of the many spectators.⁸ In another contest one party is asked to gather all his rhetorical force and to 'move the theatre'.⁹

It is, of course, a favourite joke to abuse the public, the 'sink of spectators'.¹⁰ As a rule this is done in so general a way (all of them, for instance, are parricides and perjurers), that the joke could only be laughed at, even if it was not particularly funny.¹¹ Of an old hag we are told that she 'has been the sport of these thirteen thousand'.¹² In a long list of more or less deformed people the poet seems to be picking out individual spectators.¹³ Sometimes real criticism was pronounced 'I know these fellows, voting in hot haste, and straight ignoring the decree they've passed'.¹⁴ In their capacity as audience, the people might be offered either criticism or flattery. The statement that the spectators detest hearing or seeing again what

¹ Plat 90 — K.1210, F.1475, E 580ff. — A 440ff. It is mere nonsense that the chorus of the *Acharnians* will not recognize Dikaiopolis, when he returns disguised as a beggar. This seems to be a reference, once again, to Euripides' *Telephos*.

² F.959ff

³ τὸ θέατρον, K 233

⁴ K 1316ff — Pl 1061

⁵ K 163f

⁶ P.543ff

⁷ P 657ff, 664ff

⁸ C 889ff

⁹ adesp 3 D.

¹⁰ Kratnos 347

¹¹ F 274ff, cf C 1096ff, 1201ff, P 821ff, 877, F 783, E 440, Pl 98f

¹² Pl 1082f Cf above, p 28, note 3

¹³ Eupolis 276 I owe the explanation of this fragment to Mr Edmonds

¹⁴ E 797f

has been said or done before, and want the poet 'to make haste', is a criticism directed against some fellow-comedians rather than against the audience;¹ but when a young girl is fond of her singing, because it is amusing and pleasant, though the listeners are bored, then the hit is probably directed at them.² Kratinos shows a charming irony in the lines. 'Hail, ye throngs that laugh not at once, but the next day, the world's best judges of my art! Your mothers bore you to happiness as the thunder of the tiers'.³ Another poet considers it shameful that the beauty of a play should be judged by the applause of the mob.⁴ Pronouncements on the sagacity of the audience, who could be called insane and who, of course, were sagacious only as long as they applauded the poet,⁵ culminate in the description of the 'clever spectator' as one who is 'over-subtle, on the look-out for sententious phrases', and as one who 'Euripid-aristophanizes'.⁶

All this reappears in an even more striking, though often conventional, manner when the audience is accosted directly, which can equally happen in the course of the dialogue, in the *parabasis* or in a song of the chorus. Frequently the audience is exhorted to listen carefully.⁷ The spectators are asked the most varied questions; for instance, whether they like the characters represented on the stage, whether they would share 'with the birds a life of pleasure', or whether they can produce for the slave who feeds the dung-beetle a nose with no nostrils.⁸ The chorus exhorts the audience to cherish any poet who brings some new saying or device in his plays.⁹ An invitation, though hardly a serious one, to participate in the common feast is a

¹ E 580ff² E 888f

³ Kratinos 323 The translation partly follows that of Norwood who, however, seems to be mistaken on two difficult points. I cannot discuss the fragment here at full length, nor do I claim that my translation does full justice to all its obscurities. I wish to add the prose translation of Mr Edmonds which contains an interesting suggestion, as regards the personage addressed 'Thou, tumult, that laughest at nothing and then after the event, soundest of all critics of our poetic art, thy mother bore thee happy, thou noise of the benches'

⁴ adesp 518⁵ K.228, 233, C 518ff, F 676ff, 1109ff — Kratinos 329, W 1013⁶ Kratinos 307

⁷ προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν K 503, 1014, C 575, W 1015, B 688, Th Kratinos 198, Pherekr 79, Eupolis 37

⁸ K.36ff, B 753f, P 20, also 150ff⁹ W 1051ff.

favourite form of address to the audience.¹ An actor's mistake is mentioned with the remark 'if you still remember' ² There is a real unity between 'spectators and actors and choruses'.³

The most striking example of direct apostrophe of this type is the great speech of Dikaiopolis, in which he informs the people about the situation and at the same time criticizes them sharply.⁴ Dikaiopolis, the Attic peasant, claims the right to criticize in this manner, 'although he is presenting a comedy; for even comedy can tell the truth'.⁵ Here the poet is clearly speaking in his own character. Like the tragedian, Aristophanes regards himself as entitled to speak 'about the State' and to criticize. It is true that the passage which follows, in which he speaks of the causes of the war, is ridiculous and, to some extent, mere comic distortion; but that a serious attack on politics and serious criticism are intended is evident. In particular, the lightheartedness with which the Athenians seized every opportunity for going to war with Sparta was the subject of bitter irony ⁶ On the other hand, Dikaiopolis had staked his head on his ability to convince the people of the justice of the cause of peace by telling them unpleasant truths ⁷ When finally the warlike chorus is won over to the side of peace, the poet perhaps hoped that he had convinced the greater part of his audience as well.

Another special privilege of comedy is its ability to allude to current events. There was little point in introducing them except for the purpose of making in the end the audience think as well as laugh. The lament that it was beyond comedy to heal so old a disease of the Polis as the foolish passion for serving on juries shows that tasks of this kind were thought to be at least one of the final aims of the comic poets, even if their fulfilment was obviously beyond their power.⁸ Comedy became a platform on which political men and events were not only derided, but also discussed ⁹ No doubt, the 'rolling sea' of the audience took part in this debate by cheering and hissing, by laughing and interrupting, often indeed in a very rude

¹ P 1115, 1358f, E 1140ff, Kraunos 169

² E 22.

³ Th 391

⁴ A 496ff

⁵ A 499f τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον οἶδε καὶ τραγωδία

⁶ A 541ff

⁷ A 317f

⁸ W 650f.

⁹ Cf, e.g., Pherekr 47 — This is something different from the view refuted p 8, note 3

manner¹ The appeal of the comic poet to the people continually found new and surprising expression, but his jests and his harshest satire sprang from a profound affection and concern for their welfare.

An outward sign of Old Comedy, although one not altogether indispensable, is the *parabasis*, which had developed from the original *komos* and had become the centre of the play. The chorus 'came forward' or 'turned aside' — hence the name *parabasis*² — and addressed the audience, usually in the name of the poet. It is not our intention to discuss in detail the various parts of comedy. To us each single comedy, like Old Comedy as a whole, is a literary unit, even though composed of the most different elements. The *parabasis*, however, deserves special mention, because it furnishes the clearest evidence for the relations between the poet and his public.

The *parabasis* is a rather complicated compound of various sections, partly recitative and partly song. Within the lifetime of Aristophanes it went through a process of gradual decay, until it disappeared entirely. The problems of this development do not concern us,³ but it is of fundamental importance to realize that the 'anapaests' as well as the *epirrhema*, 'the core of the *parabasis*', contain a direct address to the audience, in which either the chorus or, through their voices, the poet speaks to the people. The address is frequently introduced by an exhortation to pay attention.⁴ An early and also a rather late play of Aristophanes lay the same stress on the idea which underlies the *parabasis*. In the *Acharnians* the poet for the first time speaks openly for himself.⁵ He prides himself on having

¹ adesp. 864 — Cf. Haigh, 343f.

² A. 629, K. 508, P. 735, Th. 785.

³ F. M. Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy* (1914), 122ff, maintains that the *parabasis* of the Lysistrata, which contains no anapaests and is divided between two choruses, represents the original type. If so, it remains to explain why Aristophanes neglected the original form in all his earlier plays. Actually the male and the female choruses are the natural and necessary outcome of the plot, and this is probably also the reason why there are no anapaests. It was not possible to have a single chorus-leader speaking for the poet, at least not till after the reconciliation, by which time it would have been too late for the *parabasis*. We must, however, recognize that, for whatever reason, the poet chose to keep entirely in the background in this play. Also there are no allusions to the audience, with one exception (1217ff), which is put in only to reduce the allusion *ad absurdum*.

⁴ See above, p. 30, note 7.

⁵ A. 628ff.

saved the people from the deceptive orators, and on having helped them by his criticism. The man whom the chorus calls its teacher has indeed 'taught the things that are best'. He was 'the best of the poets', because he dared to speak what is just.¹ Again, the chorus of initiates in the *Frogs* begins its *parabasis* thus. 'Well does it suit the holy chorus to exhort the Polis and to teach it what is good.'² The poet is no longer mentioned; the chorus, as it were, has taken on a responsibility of its own. The form, and soon the contents as well, of comedy are becoming more and more impersonal.³ The words of the *parabasis* do not always contain so serious an exhortation, nor are they invariably so irrelevant to the story of the play.⁴ But it never varies in its essential function of giving expression to the unity of the people in both orchestra and auditorium, a unity in which the poet was certainly included.⁵

This unity is shown in still another way. In spite of everything that makes the comic no less than the tragic poet the 'teacher' of his audience and his people, he was, above all, a poet. His personal achievements as a poet are the outstanding theme of most of the parabases. The leader of the chorus sings the praise of the poet, which is thus self-praise. The poet 'has cheered you up and then sent you home'.⁶ He even assures us that there has never been a better comedy than his. There is no need to call for Muses and Charites; they are always present when Aristophanes writes his plays — 'thus speaks the poet'.⁷ The comedian's lot is not an easy one; the public is fickle, and the old poet is often hissed, though not always without justification.⁸ To explain this, Aristophanes blames and attacks the older comedians. Such attacks upon

¹ A 658, 644

² F 686.

³ P W Harsh, *TAPA* LXV (1934), 178ff, maintains that the *parabasis* was originally 'spoken in character' and only later became the mouthpiece of the poet. This is in conflict with the known history of the *parabasis* and the general development of comedy. Prof Webster, in support of our view, suggests that ἀποδύνασθαι in A 627, i.e. what the chorus did when embarking on the *parabasis*, may possibly mean 'taking off their masks', an action perhaps illustrated by a r f *Krater* in Heidelberg (*Ganymed*, 1949, 75, fig 4).

⁴ Cf, e.g., C 518ff, B 685ff, Th. 785ff. Other examples from comic fragments are collected by M Whittaker, *Cl Q* XXIX (1935), 188ff.

⁵ Cf K 507ff

⁶ adesp 53

⁷ W 1046f — frg 334. For a somewhat different explanation of this fragment cf Norwood, 252f.

⁸ K 515ff, 520ff

fellow-competitors, those 'vulgar people', are found fairly often, and the discrimination of the audience is assessed according as they like Aristophanes better than the other poets.¹ In the main, Aristophanes claims over and over again, though certainly only with a limited justification, that his jokes are not so stupid and coarse as those of others and that he does not try to win the audience by throwing them figs and sweets.² Once during a sacrifice corn is thrown to the spectators, but that is done only to provide occasion for an obscene joke.³ Aristophanes is proud of his great art, of his language and ideas, of his jokes.⁴ He demands the gratitude of his audience especially for his unselfish political attacks what an injustice was done, for instance, by not giving the first prize to the poet of the *Clouds*, who like Herakles tried to cleanse the State from all evils!⁵

The other poets, of course, repaid in like coin. 'Wake up, spectators, and shake from your eyelids the nonsense of ephemeral poets', are the words of Kratinos, who in his *Odyssēs* declares that he has produced a new kind of play.⁶ He derides a tragic poet Gnesippos whose chorus 'pulled out their songs' as slave-girls pull out the hairs of their mistress.⁷ The chorus has 'to undertake and to dare everything', except to use the melodies of certain other comedians.⁸ The genuine poet — possibly Kratinos — can claim 'to have got his art instead of a wife';⁹ his love belongs to his art, and the comedies he writes are his legitimate offspring. Kratinos' last comedy, the *Wine-bottle* (*Pytine*), was a magnificent effort of the old poet against his detractors, especially Aristophanes, whose *Clouds* he defeated on this occasion. The poet, who had been advised by Aristophanes to sit as an honoured man among the spectators,¹⁰ defended with the same vigour both his poetry and his love of wine: 'wine's a swift steed to the bard of true wit;

¹ Competitors as ἄνδρες πορτικοί C 524, cf W 66. In general cf, e.g., A 115off, 1173. Discrimination of the audience C 518ff, 560ff, W 1048ff.

² C 296, 537ff, W 58ff, P 734ff, 751ff, F 1ff, 12ff, Pl 797ff.

³ P.962ff.

⁴ P.748ff. In frg 471 he claims similar standards in comparison with Euripides.

⁵ W 1015ff, 1042ff, P 760ff.

⁶ Kratinos 306, 145.

⁷ Kratinos 256, cf 15, 97.

⁸ Kratinos 324.

⁹ adesp. 498.

¹⁰ K 536.

no water-drinker's work is worth a penny'.¹ Eupolis complained to the public that they preferred 'foreign poets', and though the Greeks did not know the reproach of plagiarism, Hermippos said that Phrynichos put other people's poetry in his plays.² In a sense, the quarrels between the comedians are more relevant to the discussion of purely literary matters, which will be referred to later.³ The same is true of the innumerable attacks on Euripides. Occasionally, however, something might be said against tragedy which reflected the envy of a competitor:

Truly to be clad in feather is the very best of things.

Only fancy, dear spectators, had you each a brace of wings,
Never need you, tired and hungry, at a tragic chorus stay,
You would lightly, when it bored you, spread your wings
and fly away,

Back returning, after luncheon, to enjoy our comic play.⁴

Naturally, every comedian aimed at displaying new and original theatrical ideas, and their competition might be particularly concerned with the *agon* which played such an important part in almost every comedy.⁵ The spirit of competition indeed permeated the work of all the comic poets, culminating in their *agon* for the prizes, for 'Nike, companion of the choruses'.⁶ The *agon* within the comedy and that between certain poets are sometimes welded into one. The *Frogs* pro-

¹ Kratinos 181ff, 198, 199

² Eupolis 357 Cf above, p 20, note 2 Eupolis and Aristophanes had been friends at first, and some part of the *Knights* was written by Eupolis (78) — Hermipp 64

³ See ch X

⁴ B 785ff There were periods, then, when comedies had no special reserved days, but were performed after the tragic trilogies. It might, in fact, have been 'shortly after noon' (B 1499) when the performance was coming to its end. The exact extent of this arrangement is, however, unknown, and as long as five poets competed (and not three, as at least during the Peloponnesian War), comedy probably had a day of its own. Xen. *oik* 3, 7 refers to people getting up early in the morning to see a comedy. Generally, cf Haigh, 23ff, Flickinger, 199, 363, Schneider, *P-W* III A, 498, 503, 508

⁵ frg 528-9 Cf J Duchemin, *L'AGÓN dans la tragédie grecque* (1945). The book contains a short chapter (p. 31ff) on the ἀγών in Old Comedy

⁶ K 589. χορικῶν ἐταίρα I take χορικῶν as neuter, including everything which relates to the performance. I do not think there is any allusion in this phrase to the oligarchic ἐταίριαι.

vide the outstanding example, the *agon* between Aischylos and Euripides before Dionysos.¹ It is significant for the wide scope of this kind of competition that Euripides reproaches Aischylos with having deceived the spectators after they had been made stupid by Phrynichos.²

While it was important in the competition of the plays to win the manifest applause of the masses, the decision was made by the judges who were a few specially elected citizens, real 'auditors for the accounts of the choruses going out of office'.³ Individual judges might have been bribed or might have some personal link with one of the poets or might be singled out for an appeal.⁴ The judges who at the *Choes* or Pitcher-feast were to give the skin of wine to Dikaiopolis as a reward for the best drinker, were at the same time the judges of the play.⁵ The choruses of the *Clouds* and the *Birds* promise the judges the finest rewards if they are victorious, and threaten the worst if they are not.⁶ 'The judges I warn not to break their oath nor to judge unjustly; else, by the god of friendship, the poet will say other and far more slanderous things against you.'⁷ The oath of the chorus of the birds becomes strongest when they swear by the wish to win 'by the vote of every judge and every spectator'.⁸ Only those of the audience 'who are well disposed', and those judges 'who look not otherwards', are invited to the feast, if the wise men among the judges will judge the poet according to his wisdom, and those who like a good laugh according to his jests, he will get every vote.⁹

It is possible, as we have said, to regard as an almost inevitable result of the *agon* of the comedies the extravagant self-praise of the poets which we might otherwise feel to be overdone, the crude attacks on rival competitors, the flatteries addressed to the judges. But all these features appear only because of the people's liking for such personal and literary references, and the people's insistence on their inclusion. This liking and insistence, however, are nothing but specific expressions of the general interest of the people, their interest in the play, in the poet, in the *agon* of the poets as well as of the actors. Although we are told that a good breakfast and drink

¹ F 830ff Other examples: Kratinos' *Archilochoi*, Pherekr 94, Plat 128.

² F 909f.

³ Eupolis 223

⁴ Personal link Lysias IV, 3.

⁵ A. 1124

⁶ C 1115ff, B 1101ff

⁷ Pherekr 96,

⁸ B. 445ff,

⁹ E 1140ff, 1154ff

by its mixture of extreme reality and extreme unreality, by 'the romantic dissonance between real life and the fantasy of fairy-tale' ¹ The two ingredients cannot be separated. If we look at the clay figures representing types of comedy (Plates I, III, XIV), we realize how everyday reality is merged in the absurdity of mask, padding and phallos ² The plays reflect the same kind of mixture. The private treaty of Dikaiopolis in the *Acharnians* is grotesque and impossible, but it has its setting among entirely real persons and events. Trygaeos in the *Peace*, riding on a beetle, brings the goddess of Peace from heaven, where he has dug her up; but he himself does not belong to a fabulous world, he is a simple *pater familias* and owner of a vineyard. It is the same with the sudden appearance of the chorus in heaven, when neither the poet nor the audience know by what miracle they have been transported thither. The city of the birds is indeed incarnate unreality, but the human beings who meet there are as natural and real as the walls which are built with stones and mortar. The manner in which the women in the *Lysistrata* put an end to war, though their plans are ingenious in conception and execution, or the government of women in the *Ekklesiazousai*, though much less ingenious — all this is grotesque and unimaginable. But how much there is of human reality, of psychological truth, of the mediocrity of the *petit bourgeois* ³ In each of the extant plays we find, even down to the smallest detail, the same mixture of reality and unreality.

It is hard to define the limits of the unreal and the supra-real within the plays. They are by no means confined to the non-human beings, gods, animals, forces of nature and the like. The limits of reality, however, are clear, just because it is reality. They are given by the everyday life of the Athenian

¹ F. Leo, *Geschichte der röm. Literatur*, I, 98.

² Much of our archaeological evidence refers to Middle Comedy. In general it is true to say that the cruder and courser the features, the closer is the figure to Old Comedy. Cf. the illuminating paper by T. B. L. Webster, *C/ Q* XLII (1948), 15 ff.

³ I shall speak repeatedly of the Athenian *petits bourgeois*, and I wish to apologize for using an expression which belongs to modern times. I have found no other word equally fitting. Those of my critics who objected to my use of the expression and also of 'middle-classes' were unfortunately unable to propose any alternatives. I shall do my best to explain and define the social meaning of both expressions.

citizens, which provides the poet with place and time and people, with their thoughts and feelings, their daily needs, and the events of social existence

It is perhaps the greatest secret of the poet's art that he has contrived to blend two such different and even conflicting atmospheres in one picture, which despite all its variety is homogeneous. Something of the secret of his art may be revealed to us when we examine the nature of some of the 'heroes' of the comedies, in whom unreal intentions and actions are combined with a real private existence. Unimportant and ordinary people turn the order of the world upside down. World-reformers such as Peithetairos and Praxagora aim, in their ingenious folly, at changing the political and social conditions in ways which are grotesquely Utopian. Similarly these conditions are reduced *ad absurdum* by exaggeration of their unsoundness. This is most admirably accomplished, for instance, by the sausage-seller in the *Knights*. It is to be supposed that the conditions which are to be changed are, according to the poet, bad and in desperate need of improvement. He does not, therefore, depict the conditions with an objective mind; they are not real, but the negative cause of imaginative dreams which were suggested by his wishes, and realized in the sphere of supra-reality.

That means that the conditions of Athenian life are described in comedy in two ways, now with intentional distortion *in deteriorem*, then again, and this to a large extent unconsciously, simply as the reflection of reality. In the distorted representation of real conditions and abuses we have, so it seems, the link joining and uniting the real and the unreal.

It remains, of course, a problem every time we use a passage from comedy how to determine where reality ends and caricature or fantasy begins. One essential point, frequently overlooked, is that the situation on the stage, which is naturally part of the plot, must not be used as evidence for historical facts. It is the situation behind the plot which counts, the conditions of life against which the events and characters of the stage stand out. Sometimes doubts remain. Any conclusion then must be based on the existence or the lack of logical coherence with the general background picture which we are trying to draw.

The assertion made before that the comic poet's distortion

of reality is the link joining together the real and the unreal can perhaps help us to surmount one last difficulty, the problem of 'types' in comedy.¹ Even those who know Old Comedy only slightly will agree that the persons represented are not individual beings, not 'characters'. They have much less individuality than the mythical men and women of tragedy who, though with little justification, have been denied that quality. Citizen and slave, sophist and peasant, man and woman, mortals and gods, rich and poor, young and old: all these can be types in comedy, depicted or caricatured in mere outlines.² Even historical persons suffer this fate, for example Kleon as the Paphlagonian in the *Knights*, or Sokrates in the *Clouds*, or Euripides in the *Thesmophoriazousai*. The type, once fixed, needed little change or improvement. There was no need to create it anew; it existed and had early become a permanent factor in comedy. This applies even to such specialized types as the rude doorkeeper, or the slave who carries his master's baggage (see Plate XIVb).³

The complete range of types was not crystallized till the time of Menander. But already in the first comedy of Aristophanes, the *Datalēs*, two pairs of types appear: the good and the bad son, and (as later in the *Clouds*) the conservative father and his modern-minded son.⁴ This shows that not only single persons, but also pairs or, less commonly, social groups could become typical, and so lead to the creation of stock motifs and scenes. Moreover, the use of types is closely connected with the limitations imposed by the number of masks available.⁵

While it is legitimate to make clear the links which con-

¹ Terracotta statuettes, representing types of comedy M Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre* (1939), fig 95ff. Archaeological evidence also confirms the existence of Middle Comedy and its types Bieber, fig 122ff.

² See Plates I, III, XIV — Cf the excellent paper by K Reinhardt, *Aristophanes und Athen Europa Revue XIV* (1938), 754ff — An example of a monograph on one of the comic types is H G Oeri, *Der Typ der komischen Alten in d. griech. Komodie* (Basle, 1948).

³ P 180ff, F 464ff — F 12ff, frg 323, cf Xen *mem* III, 13, 6.

⁴ Cf. F Wehrli, *Motivstudien zur griech. Komodie*, 49 and elsewhere, who should be consulted also for what follows. His conclusions about Aristophanes, however, go too far. Cf also W Suss, *Gnomon XIII* (1937), 602.

⁵ Cf. F. M. Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy*, ch. VIII, but this argument must not be over-emphasized, as it was quite common for new and original masks to be used in comedy (cf T B L Webster, *Bull. of the John Rylands Libr* XXXII 1949, 3ff).

nected the New Comedy with its predecessors, the fundamental difference must not be overlooked. So far as our problem is concerned, it seems to me to rest on two main facts. First, the 'type' in Old Comedy and that in New Comedy are not identical. Menander draws in detail the character and psychology of his persons, although from a general and social point of view they are continually recurring types. Aristophanes pays no attention to psychology, but cares only for action and situation. What matters to him are the changing functions determined by the permanent general characteristics of the type.

This implies also the second fundamental difference, that of the world of the play. Menander, ingeniously and with many variations, involves his typical persons and motifs in a plot which again is typical. In spite of all their realism and psychological truth, they stand, so to speak, in a world outside time and space, which knows only seduced girls and frivolous youths, crafty slaves, depraved procurers, stupid fathers and so on, a world in which the only problems are those of love and money. It is true that the events and situations could have occurred, for they are quite natural and human; but what is represented is not simply a purely private sphere, it is, as it were, separated from the rest of the world by a screen of glass, through which only occasional glimpses are granted of the conditions and facts of real life. No doubt, New Comedy is an important source for the historical reconstruction of social life, partly because of its general, entirely unpolitical character, and partly because of its use of proverbs, its general statements, its occasional allusions to individual facts. New Comedy represents a certain spirit, a special state of mind, and it was performed before an audience which must have agreed with this state of mind. Behind New Comedy lay, we may say, what has been said to lie also behind the art of Praxiteles (though he lived about half a century before Menander): 'an intelligent life, quiet-tempered, fond of pleasure and tasteful in its pleasures, taking things lightly, or as lightly as one can'.¹ If this mirrors the spirit of New Comedy, it can be recognized in the characters as well as in the social circumstances represented on the stage; but they had to a large extent become conventional. Poetry in Menander's time, though it certainly represented the spirit of the age, had ceased to be an expression of

¹ J. D. Beazley, *Cambr. Anc. Hist.* VI, 537

public life. So far as private life is concerned, it is simply a misinterpretation to regard the problems and events on the stage as something which mattered in real life. Life in New Comedy, though it apes life, was shut off from reality.¹

In the plays of Old Comedy both men and action are often, as we have already emphasized, impossible in detail, they are unreal or supra-real, but the ground they stand on, or rather have arisen from, is the reality of political and social life. There is a telling story reported in the two anonymous *Lives* of Aristophanes that the tyrant Dionysios wanted to know all about the *politeia* of Athens, that is to say, its people and its institutions, and that Plato sent him the plays of Aristophanes. Old Comedy, in spite of its farcical conventions and gross caricature, pulsates with the spirit of the age in which it was written, and at the same time it is inspired by the problems of that Athens which lived through the Peloponnesian War and its aftermath. Behind type and convention stands not only the genius of the poet whose work appeals to mankind, but also an age and a place the like of which has not been seen again.

¹ I agree in its main points with Prof. Gomme's characterization of Menander (249ff), but I consider it insufficient to say 'He, if you will, fails to give them (i.e. his characters) a satisfactory living background'. There was no failure, but a different intention. Korte, *Die Menschen Menanders* (*Berichte d. Sachs. Akad.* 89, 1937, Heft 3), describes this world of Menander's as one 'without patriotism, religion, duties, and labour', 'a society, on the whole, neither pleasant nor interesting'. Korte is convinced that this society actually existed. And so are others. I do not believe in the reality of that life and that society. It may be a little difficult to realize the conventions and the unreality of a realistic theatre, but we have a specimen today: the films, which are accordingly easy to understand everywhere and always — just as Menander was. W. S. Ferguson, in the brilliant chapter on Athenian society in his *Hellenistic Athens*, makes large use of New Comedy as a source (73ff). However, he remarks 'We cannot use the data of the New Comedy to reconstruct more than the life with which it deals, the border life in which *monde* and *demi-monde* met, the life in public which was not political or commercial. The real private life of most citizens was closed to the drama' (77). I very much wonder whether this border life was not chiefly a poetic invention. 'The kind of plot... is altogether misinterpreted when it is construed so simply that rape, seduction etc. were of everyday occurrence in Athenian society. They could happen, since otherwise the New Comedy would not have been a mirror of life at all' (91). Exactly: if it was not a true mirror of life (and are we justified in *a priori* taking it as this?), those events usually did not happen.

CHAPTER II

THE COMEDIES

EACH of the comedies is a curious compound of very incongruous elements, of traditional forms of cult and religious festival on the one hand, and on the other of dialogue scenes which, being theatrical in a narrower sense, are dramatic and full of action. The whole, however, which emerges, has far less unity than tragedy, which developed on somewhat similar lines. The history of the development of the various parts of comedy, whether it is a matter of proof or conjecture, is irrelevant to our discussion. Aesthetic evaluation of the whole is also out of place. What matters to us is this: each play of Old Comedy is a loose structure in which much is incorporated for pure fun, the derision of well-known persons or farcical situations from which the last ounce of absurdity is extracted. Yet in this richness and variety a certain coherence can be detected. This is supplied partly by the idea and tendency of the play, partly by the general atmosphere, that is to say, by social circumstances and problems, but not by the events of the plot, which frequently lacks any proper coherence. There must be a trunk for the creepers to cling to. *Fabula docet*, not, it is true, as the close unity and architecture of tragedy does, but by way of a general picture. On closer inspection there is revealed no scarlet thread running through the incidents of the plot, but the observer becomes aware of a multicoloured fabric into which the comic play is worked.

Thus it cannot be our task to tell the story of each play. The exact order of scenes is of no great importance for our subject, neither is the loose manner of composition, for here comic and conscious invention naturally predominates. It is, however, necessary to inquire how, if at all, reality is reflected in the simple narrative sequence, and how far an understanding of the political and social situation can be gained from the narrative. Any single comedy, if treated as a whole, may disclose something that cannot be gathered from a mosaic of innumerable quotations from the whole field of comedy.

Let us then examine the plays one by one.¹ For this purpose we are, of course, practically confined to the works of Aristophanes. That the story of a play cannot be satisfactorily reconstructed from the extant fragments alone, is illustrated, for instance, by the *Daulēes* of Aristophanes.² The fragments suggest that the conservative father and the good son are to some extent duplicates, though they can hardly have been so in fact. A similar uncertainty about plot and story prevails with regard to other plays which have not survived, except perhaps the *Dionysalexandros* of Kratinos and the *Demos* of Eupolis. The *Demos* we shall discuss later. Kratinos' play is a parody of myths and gods with a political background. We know the main features of the play from a papyrus which contains a short résumé of its contents, a *hypothesis*.³ It does not provide anything that I can see of value for our present purpose. Apart from these two plays, we have nothing but fragments to go on, useful only if the words and phrases in themselves suggest certain conclusions quite apart from any context in which they may have occurred.

Of the *Babylonians*, produced in 426, we know at least for certain that in this play the young Aristophanes dealt with the policy of democratic Athens, in particular the policy of Kleon, and that it exposed its character in the presence of strangers and allies.⁴ One result of the performance was the prosecution of the poet by the statesman. This is probably the chief reason why, apart from the general and, indeed, all-impor-

¹ This whole chapter owes much to Croiset. His book is not yet obsolete, though he thinks too much in terms of fixed political parties. His opinion that comedy is the expression of the fight of rural democracy against an urban oligarchy is entirely erroneous, cf. Gomme, *Cl. Rev.* 52 (1938), 98f. Good accounts and discussions of the plots are to be found in Murray and Nicosia (and, in fact, in several other books). The most extensive discussion of all comedies, whether extant or not, as well as of much of the modern literature on the subject, can be found in Schmid.

² An attempt to reconstruct this play, as far as it is possible, was made by A. Rostagni, *Riv. di filol.* LIII (1925), 174ff.

³ Pap. Oxyr. IV, 69ff = p. 31 D — Cf. G. Méautis, *Rev. ét. anc.* 36 (1934), 462ff. J. Th. M. F. Pieters, *Cratinus* (1946), ch. vii.

⁴ G. Norwood, *Cl. Phil.* XXV (1930), 1ff., has tried to show how little foundation there is for the general opinion that the allies were represented as branded slaves from the mill of Demos. His own reconstruction, however, is itself not very convincing. V. Frey (see p. 8, note 3), 133f., explains the plot as a double betrayal of the Athenian people — by Kleon and by the allies!

tant question of peace, the questions of domestic and empire policy hardly recur at all in the *Acharnians*, of the next year. Aristophanes was by then more cautious. It is known, moreover, that the *Acharnians* was performed at the Lenaia, when no allies were in the theatre.

Nevertheless the poet does not conceal his political animosities. In a play of which the whole trend is governed by his passionate longing for peace, he is bound to find himself up against Kleon, the champion of a warlike policy. But Kleon himself is not represented, and there are few personal attacks on him. Yet there is a subtle motive — it is more than a clever device — in the allocation of the roles of the advocates of peace and war respectively to Dikaiopolis, the 'just citizen', and to the charcoal-burners and vine-dressers of Acharnai, that is to say, of both views to members of the same stratum of society, the rural middle-class. We may disregard Lamachos, the regular soldier, all brawn and no brains, gallant, but almost devoid of political and social significance. The *Acharnians*, however, the clumsy, honest *Marathonomachai* — we know them to be rough and wild from another comedy also¹ — hate Sparta, though it is true that they hate Kleon even more. They intend to fight the war through to absolute victory. It is certain that at the time no small part of the people was full of patriotism and the spirit of self-sacrifice. The war was continued not merely because a bellicose party in power wanted it. A fact emerges which hostile tradition tends to obscure. Kleon did not stand alone, he was not simply a tyrannical demagogue, but was supported by a large part of the people, consisting mainly (as might be expected), though not exclusively, of the townsfolk from whose ranks he himself had risen. On this point Aristophanes supplies indirect but unimpeachable evidence. With great skill he makes a round-about attack at the point where the enemy's lines are weakest. When he made his *Acharnians* change from war-mongers into promoters of peace, he probably cherished some hope of undermining the desire to prolong the war, a desire which was certainly still alive, even among the rural population. What he tries to show is that the feelings of the *Acharnians* are justified from their point of view, but that they feel as they do only because they have been the victims of deliberate deceit. By this means he was

¹ adesp 75.

sure of influencing his audience more strongly than if he had shown every warlike feeling to be contemptible in itself. Furthermore, he laid the responsibility for the war not on Sparta but on Perikles and his Megarian Decree — surely an astonishing line to take at that particular moment.¹ He depicts *Polemos*, War, as one of those dissipated rich young men at whom he so often aims his shafts. We need not doubt that, when the chorus joined in Dikaiopolis' hymn of peace, many of the listeners were of one mind with them, although (or should we say, because?) in the play every attitude which was not wholeheartedly in favour of peace had been condemned and mere comfort and enjoyment had been extolled. Perhaps the award of the first prize to this play expressed not only artistic appreciation, but also the widespread longing for peace which found itself in agreement with the poet's own desire.

Dikaiopolis begins his private conclusion of peace with a sacrifice to Dionysos, the patron of both festival and comedy. Here he is appealed to, above all, as protector of the rural Dionysia and defender of peace, Dikaiopolis is, in fact, pretending to be back on his farm.² The sacrifice is accompanied by the hymn to Phales or Phallos, the symbol of the fertility of men as well as of animals and plants, the symbol of Dionysos, and in particular the symbol of sexual love. This sacrifice of thanksgiving is intended to illustrate the fact that peace will restore the pleasant features of country life, it therefore reproduces the traditional forms of the rural Dionysia. At the same time, it is the entirely personal and private peace of the little vine-dresser Dikaiopolis in which he forbids any others to participate. Unlike what we shall find in the later comedy which is given the title *Peace*, this peace is not to be thought of as a political affair, as something concerning all Greeks. There is nothing heroic about it, its chief result is the restoration of trade and marketing and so of an easier daily life. A peace of this kind corresponds exactly to the kind of war depicted in the play. Naturally enough, since it is a comedy, it does not resound with the great and tragic events of recent years, the plague, the punishment of Mytilene, the heroic resistance and final fall of Plataiai, or the horrible civil war in Kerkyra. Dikaiopolis complains of the destruction of vines,

¹ A 515ff

² Cf A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (1946), 60

seller, even when he surpasses himself in impudence and vulgarity. This association is, on social grounds, very strange indeed, and it can only be explained by a common hostility to Kleon. We must beware, however, of too hastily drawing conclusions about actual conditions. It is to be noticed, too, that this play, the fiercest attack ever launched in public against a leading statesman, came out in the spring of 424 (and won the first prize). It was therefore written not long after Kleon's policy had been justified by his brilliant success at Pylos. Finally, in this play the poet remains faithful to the ideal of the *Acharnians*. The last scene of the *Knights*, a scene of serene gaiety, reaches its climax when Demos, always described as a townsman, receives from the hands of Agorakritos the peace-treaty, in the form of a beautiful maiden with whom Demos can now retire 'to the country'.

If we regard, as we are certainly entitled to do, the last part of the play as definitely bringing out its inner meaning, then what Aristophanes desired above all was to put an end to the corruption of political methods. The methods in question are those ascribed to Kleon, and even more strongly, to the sausage-seller in the earlier scenes. This implies that they were used by men who belonged to the middle and lower classes of the townsfolk. Opposed to them we find the aristocratic chorus, and the spirit of pre-Periclean Athens which is conjured up in the final scenes. However, apart from a few perfunctory allusions, mainly in the Paphlagonian's boasts about Pylos, the poet does not mention the war in which Athens was then engaged, a war in which the prospects of the Athenians seemed good enough to justify in some measure Kleon's brutal and bellicose policy. Once more we see comedy emancipating itself from the general patriotic attitude, though apparently there are inconsistencies. In the revived Athens the people will vote money for ships rather than for fees, the threat of cutting off the imports of corn will fail to have any effect, the oarsmen's pay will be guaranteed, the corrupt intrigues to avoid active service will be stopped. all this means a strengthening of the external power of Athens. The real aim of Aristophanes is always to fight corruption, not to hamper Athenian might.

The corruption, however, which is, so it seems, a feature of all long wars and not especially associated with any particular political system, is the result of unrestrained egotism in econo-

mic and political life. As is shown by all the known facts of the history of the time as well as by comedy, the blame lay mainly with the town-dwellers. The Paphlagonian and the sausage-seller belong to the same social sphere, though on slightly different levels. Kleon is degraded, though at the same time comically put in his proper place in society, by the punishment which makes him a sausage-seller and compels him to sell his wares at the gate where only the scum of the people loiters. What matters to us is not the opinion of Aristophanes expressed in this extravagantly distorted form, but the fact that one section of the people strong in numbers, and even stronger politically, could not only see economic conditions as the basis for a peaceful existence on a small scale (as the petty farmer typified by Dikaiopolis had done), but could also look at them with an eye to increasing its own profit and power.

In contrasting this new kind of citizen with the older type, men of high morals and ready for any sacrifice, Aristophanes shows an understanding and offers an interpretation of the tendencies of his age. In the days of Perikles, and more intensely during the great war, a change began to take place which gave to economic factors an ever-increasing importance in the life and thought of the Polis. This tendency was strongly combated by the poet, who was, of course, the mouthpiece of an opinion widely held at the time. There were kindred spirits among great and small citizens alike, both in town and country. He stood not only for the supremacy of politics as such, which had been taken for granted in earlier times, but also for the supremacy of a new type of politics, conforming to a universal moral ideal rather than merely serving the brutally won advantage of the moment. The age of moral and political philosophy lay ahead. These ideas explain why Aristophanes could aim such vigorous attacks against the victor of Pylos and yet remain a good Athenian.

We must therefore refrain (as many scholars have failed to do) from calling the knights of the chorus oligarchs. Their point of view is the same as the poet's, and as we have said, there is no reason to conclude from their alliance with the sausage-seller more than that they were hostile to Kleon. This can almost be regarded as axiomatic. Aristophanes had indeed already emphasized it clearly enough in the much-discussed opening verses of the *Acharnians*. That the poet and the

knights have been brought together by a common hatred of the all-powerful demagogue, is expressly stated by the chorus in the *parabasis*.¹ The knights belonged to the noble youth, they were 'gallant men', true *kaloikagathoi*.² But to the same social class belonged also the dissipated rich young men, educated in the new manner, whom the poet attacks so often and so passionately, and against whose spirit his next play was partially to be directed. In view of this it can hardly be maintained that Aristophanes allied himself with the opinions of a whole social group or the programme of a political party. He was not committed to a hostile attitude to democracy.

This will be confirmed by a closer examination of the picture of society as painted in the *Knights*. Noblemen and peasants found a common bond in their hostility to the demagogues, to their bellicose policy and to their desire for political power and the realization of their economic aims. Opposed to this partly aristocratic and partly rural group, which was united by political rather than social affinities, stood a group of middle-class townfolk of which the internal structure was determined by the relative degrees of wealth or poverty of its members, who ranged from the small pedlar to the owner of a large workshop. In spite of its diversity, this group formed a social and psychological unit. It was, above all, the different situation created by the war which distinguished the two groups, 'the farmers and the rich' were the chief sufferers, while the townsmen felt little of the devastation and the misery of war.³ However, it will become clear in the course of our investigations that the small farmers found their place within the structure of society by the side of the traders and craftsmen rather than of the noble knights. Their union with the rich and noble was, after all, only a temporary combination, mainly a fighting alliance against war-policy and democratic corruption. The contrast between the two groups of the *Knights*, which is perhaps the most conspicuous of all the contrasts in comedy, has also its political, social and professional features, but it is primarily a matter of morals, it is a contrast of moral aims.

The success of the *Knights* was followed by the failure of the *Clouds*. In its original form, produced in 423, Aristophanes seems to have overestimated the intelligence of the audience:

¹ K. 507ff

² Cf ch IV

³ Ps -Xen II, 14

the play was probably above their heads ¹ The revised edition, which cannot be much later, was widely read, but never performed on the stage. In this two points are stressed: the underlying principle is made clear (the *agon* of the Just and the Unjust Logos), and a firm line of action is taken, expressed in burlesque by the burning of the 'thinking-house'.² No great difference is supposed to exist between the two versions, at any rate, there was no fundamental change. The denunciation of Sokrates, at first only humorous, afterwards sharper, was of course an expression of the struggle against the sophists and their modern education; but it falls far short of the violence of the attacks on Kleon. One obvious reason for this is that even in Athens a much smaller part of the population was interested in the things of the mind and in culture than in politics.

We may, however, take it as evidence of the deeper insight of Aristophanes, deeper than that of audience and judges, that he realized that this problem had an importance for the people as a whole. When looking for men educated in the old and in the new way, he took representatives of two generations, but also — though they were father and son — of different social classes. The old peasant Strepsiades, it will be remembered, had married into the aristocracy. Originally an honest and dignified, though narrow-minded countryman, he has been driven out of his proper course by his marriage, and is now fighting without scruple against the economic ruin that threatens him through the debts of his wife and son. Probably such marriages were not unknown, though it may be that Aristophanes invented the situation in order to be able to make the farmer's son, Pheidippides, representative of the noble and prodigal *jeunesse dorée*. Perhaps the poet preferred the young man, whose sophistic education had turned him from a reckless ne'er-do-well into a complete scoundrel, not to be a knight, even if he tried to win their favour.³ Anyhow he is not one of those who, a short time before, had appeared as the allies of the poet, though the knights, too, are as mad on horses as Pheidippides, and some of them are educated in the new manner. It is, of course, difficult to say how far the peculiar social setting of the two principal figures is due to the desire for a particular comic effect.

¹ Cf C 520ff

² Cf Murray, 87f

³ C 119f

Yet we may be certain that Aristophanes' attitude, which, in spite of its conservatism, is never narrow, and not even uniformly conservative, reflects a somewhat complicated situation in society. Distinctions of class, profession and education were becoming very much less clear. The poet, who had called on the young aristocrats to fight against the demagogue, realized that they were in greater danger than anyone else from the activities of the sophists. The sentence on Sokrates is carried out by the farmer, who in this case represents also the older generation. In the last scene he is no longer stupid and clumsy, but appears as the honest and upright guardian of the good cause. Aristophanes seems to have been quite unaware of the fact that Sokrates with his basic demand for expert knowledge would have been his best ally against the demagogues.¹

The really comic figure of the play is, of course, not Sokrates but Strepsiades. His utter narrow-mindedness forms a companion picture to the complete baseness of the sausage-seller, and like him, he ends up as a victor and a just judge. It is not so easy to find a parallel between Sokrates and the Paphlagonian, except in so far as the demagogic methods of the latter and the former's dialectical tricks are both means of deceiving the people, the only difference being that Sokrates acts from folly rather than from self-interest. The sophistic distortion of truth as taught by Sokrates is used by Strepsiades merely to repudiate his debts. But it might have helped someone else to become a demagogue, and the completely corrupt Pheidippides, who thrashes his father and threatens to beat his mother, is also a product of the new type of education. This education is therefore a menace to the whole people. The fight against the originators of the theory of private and public egotism takes its place beside the fight against self-seeking rulers and demagogues. The Sokrates of the *Clouds*, who at the most takes a cloak from his pupil and in spite of all his teaching remains poor and wretched, does not illustrate the economic thought so characteristic of the time. But his irreligious and opportunist materialism appears as another outstanding phenomenon of the great spiritual and psychological transformation which was a feature of the age.

The *Wasps* (spring 422) continued the attack on Kleon

¹ In ch. X we shall try to give a more substantial answer to the question why Aristophanes depicted Sokrates in the way he did.

That is stated explicitly in the names of the two chief figures Philokleon, the 'Kleon-lover', with his passion for the law-courts, and Bdelykleon, his son, the 'Kleon-hater'. In contrast with the *Knights*, Kleon does not appear in person on the stage. The attack on demagogic democracy is directed against one of its prominent institutions, the popular courts. It is essential for us to bear in mind that neither the courts as such nor democracy are the real objects of attack. No reforms are advocated. Aristophanes merely endeavours to show how the people's courts and the people are being debased to the level of tools in the hands of a few self-seeking demagogues. The father is taught the lesson by the son, and with the father the chorus of his fellow-jurors.¹ The poet's attitude has remained fundamentally unchanged.

In this, as in most of Aristophanes' plays, the contrast between the generations is a dominating feature. What is surprising is the complete financial dependence of the father on his son. The former is poor, the latter apparently quite well off. Perhaps the old man handed over his house to the son, but it is more than that. The natural order of things is inverted, the old man waiting for the death of the younger one, which would enable him to manumit the flute-girl and make her his concubine, the son looking after his father because he is 'the only one he has', and this one is still too young to manage his own property.² Thus the unnatural economic situation is only part of the general fun and likewise not to be taken seriously, while, on the other hand, the comic situation requires the old man to be poor if he is to be a typical jurymen. This is made clear by the members of the chorus, whose children are more or less starving. Nor is the inversion of the generations purely arbitrary. The chorus of heliasts composed entirely of old men

¹ I have used the words 'jurors' or 'jurymen' for the members of the popular courts. It is the normal way of translating ἡλιαστοί. But they were also δικαστοί, and 'judges' — or perhaps 'sworn judges', though this is rather clumsy — is an equally justifiable translation. Yet the word 'judges' normally implies the conception of an individual, professionally learned in the law, perhaps even a State official; it therefore seems more misleading than the name of 'jurors'. In a way, Mr Cronin is right in saying that the dicasts were both judges and jurors (J. F. Cronin, *The Athenian Juror and his Oath*, Diss. Chicago, 1936), cf also my review of G. M. Calhoun, *Introduction to Greek Legal Science* in *JHS* LXIII (1943), 127.

² W 1354ff

reproduces, though in exaggerated form, a factor of the social conditions of the time. Younger men were serving as soldiers or employed where workmen had grown scarce because of the war. Amongst those who prized the three obols of the juror's pay, the old men, no longer fit for work, were the most likely to be available for the bench. They were a miserable, discontented set, and their sentences were influenced in a high degree by their many grudges and pressing poverty. They were old men, singing the songs of their youth, and so far as Aristophanes' description holds good, there was no malice in them, else they would not admit their mistakes so readily in face of Bdelykleon's arguments. But they succumb to the allurements of listening to denunciations of rich people, and of enjoying their own power in dealing with them. The crazy passion for judging, which is ridiculed, though not unkindly, in the play, was a dangerous political instrument in the hands of the rulers; as a feature of mass-psychology it was as easy to understand as it was difficult to eradicate.

For this there is an obvious reason: the individual heliast does not care much for justice, but he does care for his own advantage. Bdelykleon's arguments, which convince the chorus and his father and are intended to convince the audience as well, never once raise the question of the miscarriage of justice, his sole object is to prove that it is not the jurors who profit by their judgments. With a pleasant audacity the poet once more holds up a mirror to the people, and these obvious things were what the audience could most easily understand and appreciate. Only a keen observer might detect behind this screen the fighter for right, and perceive that the fight against demagogues and cheating jurymen was at the same time a fight for the independence of the law-courts and for just verdicts.

This play suggests that Aristophanes had formed a low, indeed a pessimistic, estimate of the ordinary citizen. But his pessimism is confined here to the heliasts, and the verdict in the end refers indirectly to the institution. At any rate, when the chorus, and finally even the stubborn Philokleon, are converted by Bdelykleon's arguments, the other and more optimistic side of the picture appears: better conditions are both desired and possible. There Aristophanes' faith in his people breaks through, faith not in their political greatness, but in their natural, joyful humanity. The war is still raging, a new

campaign in Thrace is imminent, in assembly and law-courts sycophants and demagogues reign supreme — but the comedy ends in burlesque and obscene revelling, with the grim old juryman turned into a young ne'er-do-well. If everything is taken into account, there is more in this than the traditional end of a comedy, the *gamos*, the final sexual union. With the end of the play all the earlier bitterness disappears, and the ultimate meaning of the whole play, and indeed of all of Aristophanes' comedies, is revealed, the portrayal of the fickle yet lovable Athenian people.

Kleon was dead and peace near, when Aristophanes wrote the comedy which takes its title from the goal for which he had striven so long: 'Eirene', *Peace*. The winning of the peace was the theme of the play. Trygaios, the bold rider on the dung-beetle, who brings down Peace from Heaven, is, as his name shows, a vine-dresser and farmer like Dikaiopolis. The members of the chorus, however, though rustic too, and apparently thought of as representing all the cities of Greece, are not the bellicose Acharnians, but more or less eager helpers in the cause of peace.¹ Only interpreters of oracles and armourers, that is to say war-profiteers, are still dissatisfied at the idea of peace. Their struggle is the half-hearted rearguard fight of the war-party, which had lost its leader Kleon; across their stubborn will events move on.

The *Peace* has generally been classed as one of Aristophanes' weakest comedies. Yet the first scenes are admirable, only the second part is lacking in action and spice. But it must not be thought that the poetic skill of Aristophanes has failed him. The fault lies rather with the subject. The struggle for peace was over, it remained only to acknowledge and enjoy it. *komos* and *gamos* were enough by themselves. It is significant that in the second part, after peace has actually arrived, Eirene does not appear again. The plot in fact was exhausted. As deputies, so to speak, for Eirene there appear Opora, fruit and harvest, and Theoria, personifying the sacred embassy and holy festival.

¹ There is some inconsistency in the composition of the chorus, as sometimes all Greeks, sometimes only the Athenians, appear to be meant. Some scholars have sought to trace in this remains of the two different texts which are known to have existed. Cf. Norwood, 232f. Another solution of the problem, involving the introduction of 'supers' representing different States, is discussed by Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre of Dionysus*, 62, 1. I personally do not think that the inconsistency goes beyond the limits of the comedian's poetical licence. Cf. also p. 90.

These allegorical figures are presented as very realistic hetaerae. The vine-dresser Trygaïos marries Opóra in order to beget young vines.¹ Theoria is brought to the council which in time of peace had sent the *theoroi* to Delphi and Delos. Thus peace is realized in what seemed to the poet, and to the majority of the people, its most important aspect: as the necessary condition for the farmer's tranquil work and for the religious obligations and festivals which were part of the normal life of Greece.

There are two interesting points to notice about this, one positive, the other negative. There was no 'patriotic' rejoicing at a peace which maintained the greatness and power of Athens, the real cause of the war. Instead we see a manifest desire to celebrate the Panhellenic importance of the peace, the salvation and rescue of all Greeks. This gives us the true political measure of the play. The attitude is one that is easily understood, since dualism in Greece had culminated in war and severed all Panhellenic ties. For the individual man, and in a sense for the individual State, peace was still identified, as it was in the *Acharnians*, with the ideal of a quiet existence, an ideal almost out of touch with politics. Ten terrible years of war had gone by, yet men were still clinging blindly to the hope that in the end those years would have left no mark, that life could simply continue where its pleasant and prosperous course had been interrupted in 432. Nor did the politicians think otherwise when they attempted in the peace of Níkias to restore the *status quo*. In this self-deception of leaders and led is to be found the ultimate reason why the peace of 421 was no real and lasting peace.

From the seven years which followed no comedies of Aristophanes survive. Those were the years of half-peace and renewed war, the years also of the struggles and preparations for the Sicilian expedition. To the author of the *Peace* who maintained the ideal of an idyllic and care-free life, those years must have been a series of disappointments and sorrows. He even ceased to attack in any elaborate way his old enemies, the demagogues. He certainly hated men like Hyperbolos as much as he had hated Kleon, and he must have felt very uneasy about Alkibiades. But he left that field to other comedians, whom he had previously blamed for attacking the contemptible Hyperbolos, while he fought against the formidable Kleon.²

¹ P 706ff

² C. 549ff

tendency¹ Euelpides denies explicitly that he is looking for an aristocratic State.² They are not anxious to avoid war and danger, they do not even mention them. Nor are they fleeing from the irreligion of the new age: there is no allusion to the Hermocopids or the profanation of the mysteries. Yet, all these troubles derive from the same world from which they try to escape, the restless and joyless, even malignant, atmosphere of the Athenian law-courts and Athenian politics. Aristophanes' old ideal of peace has not changed, but there seems now no chance left of realizing it on earth. The result, born of a general sense of estrangement from the State, is the flight of the two old men, and therefore of the poet. This poetical and fanciful escape is the victory of the unpolitical man.

Of course, like will stick to like, and the Athenian to politics. The escape from the State is succeeded by the foundation of a new State. The goal, the achievement of non-political life, is to be approached only by the path of true politics. When the new Polis is built in imagination, Euelpides thinks of nothing beyond the money he will be able to make out of it; Peithetairos, however, stands above this level which we can easily believe to be the general and natural level of the Athenian middle-class. Peithetairos is a born leader. He continues a tradition which, in Aristophanes' plays, has hardly any connection with the real statesmen of the past (it is otherwise, as we shall see, with Eupolis), and which has certainly no representative in the poet's time, a tradition which perhaps goes only back to Agorakritos in the last scenes of the *Knights*. It is a type of leadership which could hardly be found outside comedy, and which the poet could not have created without himself being guided by the spirit of sophistic individualism, and without doing a certain injustice at least to the politicians of the 'good old times'. Peithetairos is rewarded by receiving as his prize Basileia, the daughter of Zeus and embodiment of all political virtue.³ She does not make an ordinary monarch out of the cunning bourgeois. In a fairy-tale myth (similar to the rejuvenation of Demos by Agorakritos) the marriage

¹ ἡμεῖς δὲ φυλῇ καὶ γένει τιμώμενοι, B 33

² B 125f

³ B 1538ff. I do not propose to discuss the various, partly rather wild, attempts at explaining the meaning of this allegorical figure. I do not think we can, or in fact need, go beyond what is said in the text, and below on p. 348

crowns the picture of an ascent that is tied to no reality, and gives to the ruler the full dignity and grace, the *charisma*, that is the right of his position.

Yet in spite of its fabulous character the 'ideal Polis', this fantasy-city Cloudcuckooborough, shows some connection with reality — at least negatively, in the nature of the people driven away from it by Peithetairos. First come persons who usually appeared when a new Athenian colony was to be founded, a priest and a poet, that is to say, a beggar-priest and an opportunist poet, followed by an oracle-monger and the mathematician Meton, here a town-planning architect, likewise a quack and an impostor. After Meton comes an 'inspector' (one of the officials elected by lot) and a 'decree-seller'. The priest and poet, Peithetairos dismisses with words, to the poet he even gives some clothes: the others, however, he drives from the stage with whips, convinced that all those who try to make money as sophists or by profiting from, and corrupting, politics are impostors. This impression is confirmed by a second scene which shows the would-be members of the new city. The first to appear is one of those unpleasant youths who beat their fathers and drain their resources. Peithetairos makes a soldier of him, that is to say, turns him into a useful citizen. On the other hand, the well-known poet Kinesias is treated like the sycophant and whipped. The principle underlying this representation of the founder of a State as one who is always ready to use the lash is moral, not political. It is exemplified again in the fact that democracy is not renounced in Cloudcuckooborough, nor are democratic institutions, only those who make a selfish profit out of them are repudiated. The inclusion of Meton amongst the impostors is, of course, to be attributed to the same attitude of mind in the poet which made him depict Sokrates as a mere sophist and an observer of the stars. Although Aristophanes' chief aim was to make fun of anyone who in one way or another was different from the average, it is hardly rash to conclude from his emphasis on the money point that to him intellectual pursuits were as wicked a source of economic gain as politics. The greater his contempt for sophists and sycophants, the more fervently must he have believed in the worth of those who earned their living as farmers, craftsmen, or merchants. He does not name them here, but together with the defenders of the State (who of

course come first) they are its true pillars. Significantly enough, Peithetairos sends his *alter ego*, his comrade Euelpides, to take part in the building of the wall, and to supervise workmen and guards. Disinterested service to the community and a life spent in real work, those are the forces that maintain the State.

The *Demoi* of Eupolis, the last and, according to ancient opinion, the best work written by this poet, was probably produced in the spring of 412. The plot can be partly reconstructed, since the fragments have been supplemented by a number of papyri.¹ It is significant that Eupolis conjures back to life the great statesmen of Athens, from Solon to Perikles, to help the State in the hard times after the collapse of the Sicilian expedition. The reason for this is, of course, that there seemed to be nobody amongst those in power at the moment capable of dealing with the situation. Previously, in his *Baptai*, Eupolis had also attacked Alkibiades. While Aristophanes flees from his own time and State and takes refuge in Cloud-cuckooborough, or in the fantasy of the women's struggle for peace, or in the world of literature as in the *Thesmophoriazousai*, while, in short, his attitude is fundamentally non-political, we find in Eupolis an active, though moderate, political conservatism more pronounced than that exhibited by Aristophanes even in his younger days. Not long after, Eupolis seems to have vindicated his resolute political attitude and his unquestioning love of Athens by dying in battle.

A peculiar part is assigned in the *Demoi* to Myronides,²

¹ A full reconstruction is impossible, as the widely different attempts show. After C. Jensen, *Hermes* LI (1916), 321ff., and A. Korte, *Ber. Sachs. Akad.* 71 (1919), cf. W. Schmid, *Philol.* 93 (1938), 413ff., D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, I, no. 40, and (on the ground of a new reading) J. M. Edmonds, *Mnemosyne* VIII (1939), 1ff. Mr. Edmonds offers, in spite of a few errors and bold conjectures, an improved text. I have to thank him for his kindness in bringing to my knowledge a general reconstruction which is as ingenious as it is daring. I, however, keep to what is reasonably certain, from which I omit the alleged plea for the return of Alkibiades — Jensen has dealt again with the fragments, though only with the *parabasis*, in *Abhandlungen Preuss. Akad.* 1939, no. 14, a paper which I was able to use for this second edition. Against his date of 411 see below, p. 135, n. 7.

² Cf. my article in *P.-W.*, Suppl. VII. I was able to test Edmonds's new reading of 40 P., 53f. in the original photographs. Though it is not quite certain, it eliminates, in my view, Jensen's reading which implied that Myronides had six years of political leadership.

who was never a ruling politician but appears as a representative of former times. Here he guides the dead statesmen up to Athens. His very character is a return to the past, recalling the *Marathonomaches* type. He is shown as an honest, courageous, public-spirited citizen who, however, seems to represent an ideal of the past rather than one which is likely to be realized in the future. Eupolis hurls violent attacks against the *strategoi* and politicians of the day. The statesmen of the past, Aristeides first, Perikles last, and in between probably Solon and Miltiades, give their advice to the people which are represented by the demes. The whole is a purely political comedy with a social background provided by the chorus. The deme, which Kleisthenes had made the smallest political unit in the State, was for the citizen (we shall confirm this later from the evidence of comedy) his 'home, sweet home'. He was attached to it by strong local and sentimental associations. The demes form the chorus of Eupolis' play. They represent the whole body of the narrow-minded and insignificant population of town and countryside, who in their close attachment to the land and to their neighbours were the very basis of the State.

In spite of its remoteness from reality, or perhaps because of this conscious remoteness, Aristophanes' 'escapism' in the *Lysistrata* (411 B C) testifies to his high courage and humanity. At a moment when Athens was making heroic and successful efforts to avoid final defeat, when every word of peace must have seemed weakness, this play of peace was boldest defeatism. The poet avoids committing himself in the party-struggle, he is even somewhat antagonistic to the rising oligarchs. He shows this in the ridiculous character of the *proboulos*, and in the personal attacks, which are directed against Peisandros, the 'coming man'. But he seems not to have fully realized the dangers of an oligarchic revolution, or if he did he was not sufficiently interested in the domestic issues. The only real issue to him was to end the war. Aristophanes makes the women attain by methods only too feminine a truly Panhellenic peace, marked by a general reconciliation.¹ The fight for peace becomes possible only when the Spartan woman supports Lysistrata's proposal that the women shall deny their husbands the pleasures of love; the rest of the women do not feel strong enough. This plot provides ample scope for some of the best

¹ This is Διαλλαγή who appears in person (L 1114ff)

fun the poet ever wrote, but it is at the same time one of the rare occasions when Aristophanes looks beyond the confines of his own Polis — here he is, like many of the sophists, a champion of Panhellenic unity.¹

The comedy can be called Utopian not only because of the part played by women, but also because of its conciliatory Panhellenic trend, which was indeed Utopian at such a time. It is a conception of Utopia in which solemn, almost tragic, strains continually make themselves heard through the light-hearted burlesque. The idea of Panhellenic peace is proclaimed by a woman — her very name, 'she who disbands the army', shows what she stands for — and so the war ends. The role of woman is in itself enough to introduce into the idea an element of warm and uncorrupt humanity. Even the comedy of some of the scenes, loose and often obscene, draws some of its life from the same source. The ideal of a peaceful and carefree existence is set up as the vital principle and basis of life as a whole.

Though we do not know what place was assigned to the play in the competition, the Athenian people, at any rate, stand out in an exceptionally brilliant light, if words and thoughts such as those in the *Lysistrata* could be said and thought at a time of overwhelming danger, of great military and financial efforts, of grave political troubles. The poet displayed a fine courage. A few years earlier, when Athens was intoxicated with power and imperialist ambition, this play could hardly have been written and would not have been produced. By 411 the desire for peace was undoubtedly very much stronger, but that it was voiced in such a sublime way, and with such complete justice to the enemy, is a particularly striking testimony to the character of the Athenian people.²

The *Thesmophoriazousai* (411) and the *Frogs* (405) are both concerned with literature, especially with the work of Euripides, though there are fundamental differences between them. It is no mere coincidence of survival which brings them together, since except for the *Triphales* (probably an attack on Alkibiades) and the first *Ploutos*, all the plays of Aristophanes

¹ Cf. W. M. Hugill, *Panhellenism in Aristophanes* (1936).

² Whether, and to what extent, it is permissible to draw conclusions from the *Lysistrata* as to the mentality and education of Athenian women is another question which can only be discussed if other sources are taken into account as well (cf. ch. VIII).

during this period, so far as their names are known, appear to deal with literary questions. This can be said with least certainty of the *Women under Canvas*, a play about women, in which apparently literary matters are touched on.¹ It is certainly true of the *Phoinissai*, the *Gerytades* and a second play with the title *Thesmophoriazousai*. At such a time of hardship for Athens, both poet and audience were capable of taking an active interest in literary questions. Undoubtedly this is significant; but we must not forget that Greek literature, and Attic tragedy in particular, was neither seriously nor in caricature a matter of pure art, not *l'art pour l'art*. It was never considered or judged on aesthetic grounds alone. On the contrary, its roots lay deep in the soil of political and social life; there too lay its purpose and function.

The *Thesmophoriazousai* is a good illustration of this, in that Euripides is persecuted by the women simply as a woman-hater. We almost get the impression that Aristophanes was at pains to avoid depicting the effects of the new education which was introduced into the world of the theatre by Euripides. It can even be maintained of this play that the women fare a good deal worse at the author's hands than the tragedian, whose immense popularity is attested by various parodies and numerous quotations. The most noteworthy feature, however, of the play is the setting — the festival of the Thesmophoria, to which only women were admitted — not so much for its own sake as because it is held up to ridicule. Yet there is nothing new in this, except that it is not here a case of exposing to ridicule individual gods or oracles or sacrifices, but one of the most sacred of the Athenian festivals, which is revealed, certainly far beyond reality, in its only too human atmosphere.

It is a long step from the *Thesmophoriazousai* to the *Frogs*. I do not refer to the artistic value of the plays, for both rank as masterpieces. But what is important to notice is that in the *Frogs* problems of literature are associated with the grave political and intellectual situation of the time. In a sense, though with far greater detachment than previously, the poet returns to the urgent issues which were menacing the State. Aristophanes takes from Eupolis the motif of fetching the dead from Hades, and transfers it, as he did in the *Gerytades*, to the tragic

¹ Σκηνὰς καταλαμβάνουσαι. The meaning of the title is disputed, cf. below, p. 201, n. 6

poets.¹ As Eupolis brings statesmen, so Aristophanes summons poets, to save the State. Both comedians also allude to the part played by Alkibiades, which is a further link between the two plays. Aristophanes, at the moment of the State's imminent collapse, when, now under the leadership of the lyremaker Kleophon, it was about to waste the fruits of the victory of Arginusae, summons the great tragedians to an *agon* before Dionysos. He is an extremely ridiculous, yet extremely Athenian, Dionysos; and the *agon* is also Athenian, even if it is ridiculous and a travesty of the real thing. Aischylos wins his victory over Euripides not by greater wisdom or art — Euripides' words and advice are often clever and simple, while Aischylos is obscure — but by an almost arbitrary decision Euripides is treated with much more fairness than usual. Athens still stood under the impression of his and Sophokles' death the year before, and Aristophanes was not likely to forget that Sophokles had dressed his chorus in mourning when Euripides had died. The fun of the *agon* is concerned with Aischylos no less than with Euripides. The real issue is politics rather than poetry: was the State to be ruled by clever reasoning or by the moral standards and religious traditions of the past?² Aischylos must be victorious, in order that he, the representative of the great times of old, and not Euripides, the exponent of the modern spirit, may be sent to Athens by the ruler of the nether world, 'to save our Polis'.³

As we have already indicated, this *agon* is based on the idea that the poet has a moral task, moral implying also political 'because we make the men in the cities better'.⁴ Euripides is pledged to a belief in this task no less than Aischylos (and Aristophanes). But not till the time of Aristophanes could it be presented as a conscious aim. It was only when the sophists made education an end in itself and their teaching had spread, that the fundamental question of the *Frogs* became possible. For they lifted the idea of general education clear of the self-contained, unconscious atmosphere of the earlier Polis-community, turning it into a programme of deliberate education

¹ *Gerytades*, frg. 149. The appearance in the upper world of the chthonic Πλοῦτοι in Kratinos' comedy of that name (160ff) is something quite different from the return of human beings from Hades (against Schmid, 81).

² Cf J. T. Sheppard, *JHS* XXX (1910), 249ff.

³ F 1501

⁴ F 1009f

and instruction. Of course, Aristophanes did not consider the task of Aischylos in the light of the educational work of the sophists; he thought of it rather as a complete contrast to it. Again, as so frequently, he preaches a return to the standards of the *Marathonomachai* and their vigorous simplicity: therefore Aischylos had to win. The education he desires is not that of a cultured governing class, based on politics and fundamentally intellectual, but the education of a public-spirited people, still based on politics, but fundamentally moral and religious. Aischylos' epitaph shows that according to common opinion even the greatest poet fulfilled his real task not as a poet, but as a soldier and citizen. It was, on the one hand, a feature of tragedy that its poets aimed at proclaiming or even discussing the fundamental truths of human life and divine nature. The tragedian was always also a preacher. No generation, on the other hand, earlier than that of Aristophanes would have thought of making the poet a teacher, consciously chosen and consciously carrying out his task. Much more clearly than Eupolis, who only summoned the better statesmen of old to help their successors, Aristophanes in spite of his retrospective attitude appears as a child of his age — an age whose character was largely determined by the work of the sophists.

According to ancient tradition, which originates in Dikaiarchos, the *Frogs* was performed a second time, 'because of the *parabasis* which is contained therein'. Possibly there is a mistake in the tradition here, and we should read *katabasis*, that is the descent of Dionysos into Hades, a series of amusing and clever scenes.¹ Certainly the superb fooling of Dionysos-Xanthos and Xanthos-Dionysos was received with particular enthusiasm. Nevertheless the *parabasis* is noteworthy, not least for our purpose, though it is hardly the principal reason for the comedy's effectiveness.²

After a *captatio benevolentiae*, addressed to the 'audience in which thousands of clever men are sitting', the 'holy chorus' claims for itself the right, conceded later in the play to the tragic poets, 'of advising and teaching things useful to the State'. The gist of this teaching is that all citizens are to be recognized as possessing full and equal rights, even if they have taken part in the machinations of the oligarchs. This

¹ This is an ingenious, though perhaps superfluous, conjecture of Weil's.

² F 675ff

demand is not made for the sake of the oligarchs, but to restore the unity and concord among the citizens. At the same time the *kaloikagathoi* are compared to the good coins of old, which have gone out of circulation because the new bad coins are preferred. There is no question of setting up party-rule by oligarchs. They are introduced, as in earlier plays, to point a contrast with the ruling democrats, whose one-sidedness and egotism are the real object of attack.

Aristophanes' point of view has remained the same, but, as was stated above, there is an important difference between this later period and the years immediately preceding. The point of view has been, as it were, revitalized. During the internal struggles of 411 and the years which followed, the voice of the poet had been subdued; but now, in view of the new dangers of 405 and the ruinous folly of the demagogues, he could hope to find a response to his demand for reconciliation and concord. Aristophanes wrote this play, which was so successful in both its comic and its serious aspects, in the same winter in which the demos condemned the unhappy victors of Arginusae. One can imagine the strength of the group that hated the radical democracy. The poet's demands for conciliation therefore had not only a political but also a social significance. We cannot, of course, assess the relative strength of the different groups and classes of the people with such exactness as to ascertain, for example, whether or no a majority had been overwhelmed by the demagogues and the general hysteria. But it may be assumed that a large proportion even of the town population rejected the methods without rejecting the principle of democracy. It needed the tyranny of the Thirty to make democracy — for the time being under the leadership of a true man of the people and not of mere demagogues and orators — popular once more, and even to prove that it was inevitable.

What we have called Aristophanes' 'escape' was, no doubt, prompted by his personality, though not entirely so. There was, as with any great man, that mysterious 'sympathy' and interplay between the life of the individual and that of the community.¹ In this case the idea of flight from politics and

¹ This 'sympathy', it will be remembered, is stressed in J. Burckhardt's *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* — now in English translation under the title *Reflections on History* (1943).

were undoubtedly in fashion, and the fact need not surprise us. They originated in that 'escapism' which is not peculiar to Aristophanes, but characteristic of his age as a whole. They mark, at the same time, a definite transition from purely political to social-economic thought. This movement, which was part of a general change, was given a turn in exactly the opposite direction by Plato, when he restricted the communist ideal to the 'guardians', and so directed it away from the politics of the day and from the economic desires of the lower classes towards absolute politics, that is to say, towards a union of politics and ethics.

In the *Ekklesiazousai* the communist programme forms the theme of the second part of the play. It is worked out in relation to money and love, and concerns itself equally with these two subjects. It tries to describe a system by which the ordinary citizens enjoy their life, while the State pays and the slaves do the work. Only the humorous and grotesque elements are prominent, and this part of the play has no organic connection with the first part, where the theme is government by women. This is after all only a natural outcome of the hitherto conspicuously bad government by men; something new must be tried. For the comedian this was a fitting and fertile subject; it can hardly be taken as a genuine argument in favour of the emancipation of women. The actual serious background and some of the worst faults in the State are revealed in the defence of feminine government made by the women's leader Praxagora, that is she 'who is active in the market'.¹ Old grievances are pressing again, stirred up by the developments since 403, that is to say, since the restoration of democracy, and some of them have even become worse: bad politicians, the draining of the State's resources by the payments for the ecclesia and army, an uncertain foreign policy, corrupt financial administration, a chronic desire for change. Of all this the women will be the natural enemies, not least so because as mothers they have to protect their sons.

Not without strong words, though without the passion of earlier years, the poet again states the demand he has repeated so often for the purge of the State. Yet we must not overlook the fact that his points are put forward in the form of a theoretical programme rather than in terms of practical politics and

¹ E 173ff.

individual effort The poet has grown old, but the times too have changed

A particular political and social programme, whether serious or comic, is perhaps not so interesting as the reaction to it, and that also is shown in this play. We must look for it not so much in the applause of the other women, or in the amusing exchange of question and answer between Praxagora and her husband, but in one scene which has a peculiar charm of its own: two citizens, one decent and willing, the other a sceptical egoist, voice their reactions to the decree which demands that all property shall be handed over to the State¹ The scene is not only extremely comic, it also reveals the whole psychology of the people. Two strongly contrasted types are depicted, the public-spirited, law-abiding, essentially democratic citizen, and the self-seeking opportunist for whom democracy is merely the means to his own advantage. Sketched in a few lines we have the *Zoon politikon* and the *Zoon oikonomikon*, the political and the economic type of man. The short and ingenious scene, which ends without making clear which is the 'wiser' type (we should ourselves be inclined to say the opportunist), gives a picture not only of the actual conditions and possibilities of the time, but also of the eternal struggle that endangers liberty and social equality.

The same subject is dealt with in the last of the surviving comedies. In the *Ploutos* the poet turns his back on the political world, which gave the *Ekklesiazousai* at least its basic situation. The extant play was probably not only a recast of a much earlier comedy of the same title, performed in 408, but completely re-written. In its form and in the types of character as well as the non-political setting, the *Ploutos* marks the beginning of Middle Comedy; and this change of outward and inward form is to be attributed not to the weakness of advancing age, but to the triumph of the spirit over this weakness. It is noteworthy that in the following centuries the *Ploutos* was one of the most widely read comedies and kept its place even beside Menander. Fighting passion, creative intuition, spirited wit, may have grown scarce and weak; but the fact that Aristophanes was himself capable of leading the way from Old Comedy to a new literary form, adapting himself in his latest works to the changed times and even giving

¹ E.730ff

an impetus to those times, is no small proof of his genius.¹

The economic situation of Athens in 388 was one of deep depression. The peasants suffered most from the general pauperization. The impoverished farmer class is represented both by the leading figure Chremylos and by the chorus. The plot is chiefly concerned with the restoration of his sight to the blind god of Wealth, who therefore ceases to favour with his presence rascals and impostors, and visits good people only. This is clearly pure fairy-tale. We are in fairy-land, though in the sad fairy-land of poverty. The story realizes an ideal which is not, as before, that of modest bourgeois enjoyment. It stands simply and unequivocally for Money, Property, Wealth. Because the story deals with honest and moderate men, this new life of wealth keeps within modest limits, but it has lost most of its poetry, lightheartedness and mirth. It is governed by stark economic facts.

The explanation is that the Attic peasants, the small farmers whom Aristophanes has described again and again, now occupy a social and economic position different from and inferior to that of earlier times. The tale of Ploutos is based on the existence of radical poverty, so radical as to be necessarily hateful to the poor man who refuses to listen to the arguments of Poverty, even when they are just. He has abandoned all hope of driving out poverty by 'work and thrift'. Only the 'good luck' of a fairy-tale can help him. Trade and craftsmanship are hardly mentioned in the play, yet we know that at the time they were entering on a new and prosperous phase. The contrast with the desperate situation of the country people must have been all the greater. Economically and psychologically the peasants were undergoing a process which, without too much fear of using a false modernism, we may well call the growth of a rural proletariat.

Ploutos' recovery of his sight has various results. The sycophant becomes a pauper because there are no more lawsuits; we must assume that money was essential for going to

¹ We might easily think that the mythological parodies of Aristophanes (*Kokalos*, *Aiolosikon*) which continued an earlier tradition, did not attain the same importance in the development of literature as the type of comedy of which the *Ploutos* is the earliest example, but we learn to our surprise that ancient scholars talked in similar terms of the *Kokalos*. In the *Life* of Aristophanes we are practically told that in that play he anticipated Menander!

law, and that good and honest people — who are now the rich — did not go to law. The rich old hag is in danger of losing her lover — that is quite in order, we are less satisfied that the young ne'er-do-well who had been dependent on her should be among the enriched, but the just order of things is restored by his inability to get rid of the woman. All this is a rather feeble and lifeless repetition of the closing scenes of the *Ekklesiazousai*. But mark the effect on the gods: pious people are now rich, they no longer need the gods or bring them sacrifices, so the gods are starving. The logical result of this remarkable piece of reasoning is that the starving wretch Hermes and the unemployed priest of Zeus have to enter the service of Ploutos. However, when Zeus, who made Ploutos blind, is said to have profited by his blindness, the joke ceases to be harmless and becomes very bitter. The gods are accessories in the unjust and miserable state of the world. We have previously noted a famine on Olympus in the *Birds*, but in that case it was an amusing war-measure necessitated by particular and fanciful circumstances and leading to a happy ending. The second famine also arises out of circumstances, but they are the outcome of real human misery, and it is a social grievance that finds its expression in the conception of the starving gods. Revolutionary ferment had begun amongst the lower classes, and religion no longer had the power to arrest it.

The conversation with the sycophant makes clear another important point. He is one of those men whose sole activity is the wresting of some personal advantage from politics and law-suits. He refuses every kind of work, whether as peasant or trader or artisan. No distinction is made as to the social standing of the various professions which all of them involve manual labour. This implies, as it were, the existence of a psychological 'labour front', a collective consciousness among labourers, by which they recognize each other's equal rights. Though at first distress was greatest among the agricultural population, the accumulation of great wealth in trade and business had led to the emergence of a poor class among the urban working class as well. These 'proletarians' among the townsfolk were to prove of vital importance in changing social and political conditions.

Thus the last play of Aristophanes is of special interest for us. It has taken us beyond the general view formed from an

examination of the earlier works. It shows us the completion of the great change which we have so often noted in its earlier stages, the change from a political to an economic outlook, from the political consciousness of a citizen to the economic purpose of an individual human being. We must not forget that this change was closely linked with the individualization of life and mind which is typical of the period. Social life became private life, the patriotism of the citizens became the egotism of class-conscious individuals. The new factors which appear in the *Ploutos* confirm our conviction that there is a fundamental unity throughout the varied aspects of the change. In the following chapters our task will be to demonstrate the unity of the whole by examining the social, economic, and spiritual aspects of the various spheres in which it displayed itself.

CHAPTER III

THE FARMERS

I

ON innumerable occasions we find the comic poets describing peasants and farmers, praising, or slightly ridiculing, their life and work, and emphasizing their importance to people and State. In consequence, the reader receives a general impression, the truth of which must be discussed. No doubt, Aristophanes was, so to speak, in love with those modest and industrious small farmers and vine-dressers who formed a large part of the Attic population. The question is whether that liking was more than personal, more than a view based chiefly on a private, primarily ethical, bias. It is true that many of the phrases in which the hard-working peasants are contrasted with the idlers, sycophants and snobs of the town are the expression of such a personal opinion; but to recognize this fact is not enough. Who were the peasants who play such a large part in comedy? To find an answer in comedy, an answer which is neither tendentious nor distorted, it will not suffice to regard figures such as Dikaiopolis or Trygaios as typical representatives of their fellow peasants as a whole. The importance of these 'heroes' of the comedies is, at any rate, exceptional. Whether they are typical in other respects, is a question which can only be answered after consideration of the arguments which will form the subject of this chapter.

We begin with the economic basis of farming, the cultivation of the soil. 'The earth bears everything and takes it back'¹ The first fact which emerges is that the cultivation of vine, olive and fig tree predominated, and that corn-growing was much less important. Ever since the days of Solon, Attic agriculture had been undergoing a process of transformation which had led to this result, which is confirmed by the evidence of comedy. It is interesting to hear a farmer say almost the opposite of what we in our northern climate should expect a peasant to say: 'I had sold my grapes, and, with my mouth full

¹ Eur *frag* 195.

of coppers, I went off to buy flour in the market' ¹ A fragment which runs 'One man gathers grapes, the other picks olives', is probably meant to describe the two chief kinds of crop. ² Similarly grapes and figs are mentioned together ³ The vines were either supported by stakes or grew between, and climbed up, the olive trees or fig trees. ⁴ Thus the owner of even a small estate was able to cultivate all the chief fruits of the country within a small space We realize that they all grew together when we hear, for instance, that the slave who has stolen some grapes is led to the olives in order to be flogged. ⁵ The stump of an olive tree could be an obstacle to the growing of vines ⁶ Old and young vines, young fig-tree shoots and olives grew next to each other ⁷ For work among the olives, figs and vines there were special words which can be paraphrased, but not translated. ⁸ Wine, figs (either fresh or dried) and olives represent, together with myrtles and fragrant violets, the established natural life of the country. ⁹ The cultivation of these three fruits, above all of the vine, needed great and intensive care, and the character of the Attic peasant, who himself worked and cultivated his soil, was strongly influenced by this fact. The goddess of Peace is called 'giver of grapes', and she has another name which is also applied to the peasant himself: 'vine-loving'. ¹⁰

The three fruits, of course, were not the only food; but besides bread and fish (and a little meat), they provided the staple diet The main point, shown by the words already quoted of the peasant in the market, ¹¹ is that the average farmer grew no corn, or, at any rate, less than he needed for himself It is estimated that Attica produced herself about a quarter of the grain she consumed. ¹² Much corn came from Euböia, and

¹ E 817ff For his way of carrying money see below, p 226

² frg 15 D = adesp 437 Olive-gatherers Plate Va

³ P 634

⁴ A 986, Pherekr 109

⁵ W 449f

⁶ Lysias VII, 14

⁷ A 995ff, cf frg 374

⁸ Words such as ἐλαίζειν (frg 119), οἰναρίζειν (P 1147), συκάζειν and τρυγᾶν (B 1698f), ἄποσυκάζειν (K 259, Ameips 33), also the composite word ἀμπελουργεῖν (frg 43 D) Of course, there is also σκάπτειν τοὺς ἀμπέλους (adesp 674)

⁹ ἡ δίαίτα παλαιά, P 572, cf P 557ff, 571ff, 596ff, 1159ff, 1248f, frg 586-7, 729, adesp 766

¹⁰ P 520, cf frg. 294, 6 — P 308, adesp 918

¹¹ E 817ff

¹² Glotz, 258

after the occupation of Dekeleia this amounted to more than what Attica supplied.¹ There was, of course, some corn-growing, chiefly of barley, in the fertile plains, and elsewhere either in small fields or in the space between the rows of fruit trees or vines.² Trygaïos, who is a vine-dresser, prays to the gods that they may give to the Greeks (that is to say, not only to the Athenians, but perhaps also to some corn-growing districts like Boeotia or Thessaly) wealth such as barley, wine, figs and children.³ The farmer had not much to do after sowing time, when the ground was too wet for working in the vineyard.⁴ 'I know', says a peasant, 'how to tend goats, how to dig, to plough and to plant.'⁵ Here we have the whole scope of farming, and 'ploughing' means corn-growing. Occasionally we hear of someone carrying sheaves, or of a boy being bound with a sheaf-band.⁶ Phrynichos knows the song which people sang when winnowing the grain.⁷ The tilling of the soil, which was necessary for corn-growing, was the hardest part of all the hard work of husbandry, especially in the Greek climate, where the farmer performed his work almost naked; the soil of Attica was, to a large extent, poor, rocky and often still uncultivated.⁸ Deforestation was far advanced, yet, charcoal-burning, as the *Acharnians* shows, was still being practised and important.⁹ Swelling land which could be graphically described as 'the buttocks of the field' was rare, in spite of the famous phrase of 'rich Athens', or the beautiful patriotic outburst of Aristophanes: 'O beloved city of Kekrops, native-born Attica, hail, thou rich soil, udder of the good land!'¹⁰ When Wealth comes, says someone to Poverty, we shall have no further need 'of thy ploughmen or yoke-makers, thy sickle-makers or blacksmiths, of

¹ W 715f, Thuc VIII, 96, 2

² P 568, frg 120

³ P 1320ff

⁴ P 1140ff

⁵ Eupolis 13

⁶ frg 42 D, though ἀμυλλοφόρος may also be the epithet of a god. — Kallias 3 D

⁷ Phryn 14

⁸ L 1173 — Kratinos 26 D, adesp 380

⁹ In Euripides' *Herakles* (240f) Lykos orders wood to be brought to Thebes from Helikon and Parnassos. The reason why he sends so far is the tyrant's boastfulness rather than real necessity.

¹⁰ Archipp 7 D — λιπαροὶ Ἀθηναί, A 639f, C 300, B 826 λιπαρός means oily, sleek, then comfortable, rich, fruitful. The famous phrase, first known from Pindar (*I* 2, 20, frg 83) has nothing to do with the greasy brilliance of sardines, but refers to the fertile plain round the city and its silvery olive groves. Cf also Eur *Tro* 801ff, *Iph T* 1130f — Quotation from Aristophanes, frg 110.

sowing or fencing the fields'.¹ Here again, the activities named refer to the tilling of the soil, and it was only in the dreamland of fairy-tale that ample crops would grow without hard labour.

When ploughing and tilling the peasant used oxen or cows. The name and cult of one of the oldest Athenian families, the *Bouzygai*, symbolized this, especially in the plain of Athens. Various breeds of cattle were known in Attica.² 'The ox in the stable' was a proverbial phrase for something useless.³ In the early morning the poor peasant drives out his oxen to sow his fields.⁴ The farmer who looks forward to peace and work, remembers above all his yoke of oxen. This 'yoke of two oxen' was a fixed and much-used expression, and represented the usual modest number of cattle the farmer owned (see Plate IV *a, b*).⁵ Euelpides was the owner of a 'puny pair', a two-oxen man.⁶ A peasant from the mountainous district of Phyle, where ploughing and tilling were especially hard, has lost his two oxen and with them the support of his farm.⁷ We never hear of larger numbers of cattle, although they must have existed; the property of a rich man could be described as fields, sheep and goats and cattle.⁸

The peasant, who did some corn-growing, needed his two oxen. Milk and cheese, however, were usually taken from goats and sheep, not from cows, and the farmer from the Mycenaean mountains — where, as on those of Attica, few cattle could be kept — is expressly called 'milk-drinking'.⁹ It can be said as a general rule that cattle were of little importance in the holding of the average farmer.¹⁰ 'Ox-loosing time' as an hour of the day was certainly a Homeric reminiscence rather than a practical expression of time used in Attica, and in

¹ Pherekr. 130

² Eupolis 49 speaks of *καὶνόν τι φῆτυ τῶν βοῶν*

³ Kratinos 32

⁴ Eur. *El* 78f

⁵ *ζεῦγος βοιδορίων*, or similar, frg. 82, 109, 387, Alkaios 14 *ζεῦγος* or *ζυγόν* therefore can take simply the meaning of a 'pair', e.g., of horses (Isokr. XVI, Andok. IV, 26) or even of human beings like the brothers Agamemnon and Menelaos (Eur. *Hel.* 392); exceptions are *ζεῦγος τριδουλον* (frg. 576) and *ζεῦγος τριπάρθενον* (Eur. frg. 357)

⁶ B 582, 585

⁷ A 1022ff

⁸ Eupolis 153.

⁹ Eur. *El.* 169f

¹⁰ It is, however, an exaggeration to say that 'in historical times cattle became more or less the sacred animals of the temples, bred for sacrifice' (Michell, 60). Cattle, of course, as well as pigs and lambs were often used for sacrifices (cf. P. 925ff).

which were economically important.¹ The process of man's alienation from the soil was still in its beginnings, and the evidence from comedy in general does not disprove the view that in the last part of the fifth century not more than a quarter of the Athenian citizens was without landed property.² Beyond doubt, Athens and Attica were a State and a country with a large class of small farmers.

In spite of all these facts, there was an undeniable cleavage between townsfolk and countryfolk. The peasants would incline to pride themselves on rarely going to town and knowing little of the evil things going on there.³ A peasant, wearing perhaps his warm cap, the rural *kynē*, attracted attention in town.⁴ Someone who seems to have come to town, along with a very typical peasant, was asked 'Are you going to bring to town this "rest-harrow"', this weed from the countryside?⁵ There actually was an opposition between town and country, caused chiefly by differences of social position and intellectual level. Here we must be specially careful not to take as valid evidence what is tendentious or satiric in comedy. Aristophanes frequently gives idealized pictures of a delightful bucolic life, and, on the other hand, dwells on and exaggerates the wickedness of town life.⁶ But even in such one-sided pictures, when he jokes, for instance, about the differences of language and behaviour, the poet has to keep close enough to real facts in order to be understood and to evoke the right kind of laughter. Everybody who 'reeked of the fields', also 'reeked of a peasant's behaviour'.⁷ Euripides was abused because of his 'agrarian' mother.⁸ It was indeed a clever touch to make Strepsiades stress the difference of smell between himself and his wife; he had the peasant's inferiority complex.⁹ The word *asteios*, which indicated the townsman, became an expression for a 'fine man', and 'urban' meant something like 'refined' or *comme il faut*.¹⁰ At the same time the word *agroikos* developed

¹ Also Francotte, II, 320, believes that Aristotle's words on migration to town should not be taken too literally.

² Francotte, II, 336. Heichelheim, 388, based on Lysias XXXIV.

³ Eur. *El* 298f, *Or* 917ff.

⁴ C.268

⁵ *adesp* 438

⁶ Some examples for the former: A 32ff, K 805ff, P 529ff, 569f, frg 387; for the latter: A 836ff, 978ff, K 384f.

⁷ *adesp*. 831

⁸ F 840

⁹ C 49ff, cf. 1457

¹⁰ F.5, 901, 906, Pl 1150, Alkaios 26.

from meaning a peasant to meaning a bucolic and uneducated man, even a 'barbarian', or a man 'making rude jokes, and telling idle tales in a stupid fashion, relevant to nothing'.¹ The god who took no notice of the fact that in his temple someone loudly broke wind was called a true peasant.² Demos himself, when finally dealing with the demagogues, will be on their trail as a 'fierce *agroikos*'; he will be a peasant again then, but he will also be rough and rude.³ Under the influence of the sophists, town language, above all among the younger generation, became both refined and affected.⁴ When speaking in public, the peasant had to face the arrogance of the townspeople, and the point is specially stressed when he did not speak like a rustic.⁵ If a man found it difficult to proceed in his speech, he sometimes used the proverbial phrase of an ox standing on his tongue — a bold allusion to a countryman's inhibitions.⁶ It was possible to distinguish three sorts of Attic pronunciation: 'the average speech of the whole Polis, the town-speech which had a flavour of effeminacy, and the rugged speech with a flavour of the country'.⁷ It is understandable that as a rule the farmer did not like to speak in town before the public, and that the educated townsman did not care for country people, nor they for the man 'who had tramped the town and had the knack of words'.⁸ 'If you search a bit, you will find in the country the anti-heliast's seedling', but those who always go to the courts and make speeches before the juries no longer care for rural life and least of all for its hard labour.⁹ There is no trace in comedy of the attitude well known from many ancient writers,¹⁰ when the peasant is contrasted with every other kind of manual worker, when he alone is not a despised *banausos*. This is a very remarkable fact in

¹ K 41, C 492, 628f, 646, 655, W 1320f Cf also Eur *Rhes.* 266, 271

² Pl 705

³ K.808

⁴ frg 198

⁵ adesp 627, 694 Cf also E 241ff

⁶ Stratus 67, cf Aesch. *Ag.* 36, Theognis 815 None of these passages can vindicate the explanation that the phrase indicates a silence caused by bribery (a coin showing the picture of a bull)

⁷ frg 685 This fragment, in spite of the differentiation it makes, seems to give proof of the unity of town and country, each had an accent of its own, but at the same time there was a way of speech common to the whole of the Polis

⁸ Eur *Bakch* 717 (transl. by Verrall) Cf also Or 902ff, *Iph T* 275

⁹ B.109ff — adesp 382 — B.1432ff, Pl 903, frg 221.

¹⁰ Cf, e.g., Xen *Oik*, ch 4 and 5

view of the general partiality of the comedians in favour of the peasants

The passages mentioned prove that the deeper reason for the opposition between town and country, which developed in spite of their close connection, was based on actual differences in social and economic conditions. The 'most pleasant country life',¹ which is so often described in its modest happiness and care-free peace, was, at the same time, hard and dirty and poor. The idealization of a peaceful and sensual life is not the romantic glorification of bucolic existence as with Theokritos, that was unknown to the earlier Greeks. Even the comedians of the fifth century, though they praised to the utmost the peasant's life, did not deny its hardships and difficulties. You must be content with porridge and olives.² If you get into debt, the demarchos as a bailiff 'bites you from the mattress'³ The farmer, on the whole, still adhered to the old *oikos*-economy, and he hated all trade where he was always cheated.⁴ Here older and modern forms of economy met, and they could not easily work together. The peasant also felt himself somewhat harshly treated by the State, worse, at any rate, than the townsman, for instance, when he was called up for active service, townspeople always found a trick to get out of it.⁵ 'What in town seems golden, becomes lead again in the country', runs a saying.⁶ Often the peasants had the feeling that they fought or suffered for a cause unknown to them; 'there is a lot we don't know'.⁷ The poor husbandman, even if by chance he was not ignorant, could not be concerned with public affairs, because he had to work so hard.⁸ Undoubtedly the farmers had to suffer more than anybody else during the Spartan invasions. When they were forced to settle inside the walls, it was as if each of them 'had left his own Polis'.⁹ The country people longed to leave the safety of the town and return to

¹ C 43.

² K 806

³ C 37. It is a bug which actually bites Strepsiades ἐκ τῶν στρωμάτων This, that the bug drove him from the mattress, is the point of comparison for him when he calls the bug δῆμορχός τις, a bailiff who turns a debtor out of his house

⁴ A 32ff, K 316f, frg 387 That is right, however, in principle only Cf P 563, where the farmer wants to go home to the country, 'after having bought a good portion of salt fish' He could not live without the market in town

⁵ P 1179ff.

⁶ Kratinos 318

⁷ P 618

⁸ Eur. *Hik* 420ff ἔργων ὑπο οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ ἀποβλέπειν

⁹ Thuc II, 16, 2, cf 14, 2

their homes, though they had lost a great deal of their property, while the townsfolk 'lived without fear'.¹ On the other hand, the people left behind in the country suffered even more, and after the occupation of Dekeleia, Eupolis could say that 'those inside the Long Walls' had a much better breakfast than the demes in the country.² Even in Sparta, it is said, it was the peasants and not the 'big people' who suffered in war, though we may wonder to whom the poet here refers — certainly not to the helots who cultivated the fields of the Spartiates, perhaps to the perioeci, and even other Peloponnesians, who had suffered from Athenian raids.³

These varied references show that the ordinary Attic farmer had very little money (see the inscription, Plate Vc), though he needed it for buying seeds, manure and even food, and, after the invasions, for restoring his farm, but that (at least before 404) he was not wholly impoverished, and had just enough to live on. The modesty or even meanness of rural life was not caused by the accumulation of land in the hands of a few. There were some wealthy men whose estates were cultivated by slaves or tenants; but the large estates, in fact never very large, were not of decisive economic importance. The characteristic feature of Attic agriculture was a far-going partition of the soil rather than the reverse. The small peasant, though not oppressed by big landowners, was oppressed by poverty and the growing difficulty of living on the yield of his piece of land. The population, on the whole, was growing, and so were the people's economic demands. In an ever-increasing degree the economic life of Attica was shifting to the town where political and social life had always been concentrated. The soil was too scanty and too poor, and there was no important intensification in farming methods, so that among the farmers poverty increased steadily, and the social and intellectual level sank.

¹ Longing for the country, e.g., A 201f, K 1394, P 551ff, 569f — Ps-Xen II, 14 ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἄδεως ζῆ Wade-Gery, *JHS*. LII (1932), 213, traces the reasons for this alienation of town and country back to 457, i.e. to the loss of the Athenian land empire, 'henceforth hoplites and farmers count little, sailors and cockneys much'

² A 1022ff — Eupolis 40 P, 12ff, cf Thuc VII, 27.

³ P 622f

3

Aristophanes describes the farmers as the part of the population that wanted peace. Whether he praised the farmers because he himself wanted peace, or whether he longed for peace because he took it as the means of salvation for the peasants and therefore also for the State — this is an academic question, not easy and perhaps not important to answer. But his opinion must have been sound, else he would not have repeated the same idea over and over again. A yearning for peace was deep in the farmer's heart. Hatred of the Spartans, who had ruined the land, was of course very strong,¹ but, as we have seen, the poet converted the vindictive Acharnians and most likely made a deep impression on a large number of his audience. The peasant who wanted nothing but his peaceful work was willing to pay heavily even to be spared office, that is to say, his duty in war-time, as the context shows.² The facts are symbolized in *Georgia*, that is 'Farming', the personification of all agriculture, who was all in one: 'nurse, stewardess, helper, guardian, daughter, sister, of Peace'.³ The chorus of the peasants cheered the goddess of Peace, for they had always desired and awaited her coming.⁴ Although all Greeks, of every occupation, were called on to dig up the goddess, the poet is fully justified in making the peasants, and the Attic peasants alone, actually achieve the task.⁵

'The farmers accomplish the work, no one else'; they are the 'wisest peasants'.⁶ Not only the peace, but all matters of State are here in the poet's mind. His view, however, is partial and cannot be simply accepted. No longer did the State exist by its agriculture. Among the things the old poets taught mankind farming was the only economic subject; but it had ceased to be this in real life, and it is the old and old-fashioned Aischylos who speaks as if it still were so.⁷ Aristophanes, as is well known, cherished the old traditions, which in fact were and are characteristic of the rural life of every people in every age. The peasants had their old songs and their old festivals.⁸ Their customs and manners were somewhat primitive, little altered since the days of Paris, when princes tended the cattle

¹ A. 509ff, frg 108² frg 100, in general cf., e.g., A 1021, P 569f³ frg 294⁴ P 586ff.⁵ P 296ff — 508ff⁶ P 511, 603.⁷ F 1032ff⁸ C 984ff, E 277ff

and the same shears were used for sheep and shepherd.¹ The comic poets praise the conservatism of the country people who for the most part had always lived in the country.² No doubt this conservatism was of great and special value in times when changes and reforms were far too frequent, in times of a radicalism impatient of restraint. On the other hand, such people lagged behind the times, and this is most clearly revealed by their lack of any productive idea

Already the events of the first years of war showed plainly how independent of her agriculture Athens had become. For several years a considerable part of the population lived inside the walls of town and harbour. The men had taken with them their wives and children, their household goods and even the wood from their houses, and had sent off their cattle to the islands.³ A State with such a population is not an agrarian State. The political attitude of a city like Akanthos was determined 'by anxiety for the crops';⁴ with Athens it was otherwise. State and town, though they had not yet lost their agrarian features, were in fact dependent on the sea. 'Most of you earn your living from the sea', a Peloponnesian envoy said later to the Athenians.⁵

The first decisive weakening of Athens was caused not by the Spartan invaders who devastated Attica, but by the plague which decimated the people. The State as well as the farmers made a surprisingly quick recovery during the following years, but never again could the peasants argue that their work was indispensable. There ran a proverb which referred to the prospects of the crops, that the farmer was not rich before the next year. A comedian modified the phrase and said that the farmer was 'not useful before the next year, as first of all he was getting away from hunger'.⁶ He probably meant by this rather obscure sentence that the farmer, who was himself starving, was not able to abolish the misery and want of the time. The conditions of real life seem to be reflected when the three vocations of peasant, merchant and artisan, all of them equally 'virtuous and patriotic', are opposed to the activities of the mischief-making sycophant.⁷ It is hardly a coincidence that the two last quotations are of the fourth cen-

¹ Kraunos 37

⁴ Thuc IV, 88, 1

⁶ Theop. I D

² Cf Thuc. II, 14, 2

⁵ Xen *hell* VII, 1, 4

⁷ Pl 899ff

³ Thuc II, 14, 1

ture. Other sources, such as speeches and inscriptions, show that the predominant importance of agriculture was not seriously doubted before the end of the period of Old Comedy. It was about the same time that the theoretical discussion and glorification of farming began.¹

Among many features and variations three facts seem to stand out. First, the ordinary, that is the small, Attic farmer was a *petit bourgeois*, but on the way to becoming a proletarian. Secondly, there was a growing opposition between town and country, though as yet there was no distinct line of demarcation between the two sections of the population. Finally, the economic importance of agriculture to the State was gradually declining. All these three facts were closely connected, and they do not conflict with the further fact that wine and, to an even greater extent, oil were important articles of export.

The farmer who after the conclusion of peace would, once again, set to work without grumbling and rebuilt his house was economically on the down grade, in spite of his moderate wants and modest life.² We may now ask again how Dikaiopolis, Trygaios and similar figures of comedy fit into the general picture. They were 'heroes', and were therefore given a certain style, a unique mixture of real genius and comic folly. Nevertheless, they were peasants, and, as far as their sociological aspect is concerned, typical peasants. It is not their way of life, but the importance they are given in comedy, that is 'unhistorical'. It is both strange and significant that Aristophanes, in spite of his affection for them, says on the whole less about the social situation of peasants than of tradesmen and craftsmen. Behind Dikaiopolis and his private peace, behind Trygaios who brought about general peace, behind Chremes who introduced wealth to good people, there was a section of the population which in spite of its large numbers had neither the economic nor the social nor, least of all, the political power to influence developments in a decisive way. Some scholars believe Athens, at the end of the fifth century, to have been still an agrarian State, because there were no industrial magnates and big business men, or because the merchants and artisans were largely foreigners. We shall deal later with these points, but we may here anticipate and say that this view, even

¹ Cf. Xen. *oik.*, esp. 6, 8, 16, 1

² Allusions to the farmers doing their building themselves C 1126f, frg. 402ff.



a



b

ARISTOCRATIC YOUTHS



a



b

b

MEN AND BOYS

for export. Agriculture, improved by specialization and by certain, though late and modest, attempts of intensification, and thus enabled to survive periods of reduced trade and export, was on the whole saved by trade. The main producers for export were, of course, the larger estates, but it must have been useful and even essential for the small farmer, that, poor as he was, he could always make some money from part of his produce. In consequence Attic agriculture did not perish during the Hellenistic Age; it even experienced a kind of revival during the second century B.C.¹ Although Athens lost her pre-eminence as a centre of trade and industry, she lived on, though enfeebled, for two reasons: because of the Peiraeus where corn was always imported, even when later the harbour was no longer a centre of international commerce, and because of Attic agriculture which even attained a new degree of prosperity.

¹ W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 207, 231f, emphasizes the new and considerable importance of the rural part of Attica, the 'Mesogaia', in the second century B.C.

CHAPTER IV

THE UPPER CLASSES

ARISTOPHANES twice made an attack on Kleon the main theme of a comedy — in the *Babylonians*, the play which resulted in his prosecution by the statesman, and in the *Knights*, the chorus of which is formed by noble youths from whose ranks the Athenian cavalry, the 'thousand brave men', was recruited.¹ These knights were primarily a military body; but they were more. In so far as their name of *hippeis* covered the second Solonian class, it was more or less obsolete; but they certainly formed part of the upper classes, who liked to be called the 'fine and brave men', the *kaloikagathoi*. Aristophanes occasionally makes a distinction between the two names.² This shows that not all the *kaloikagathoi* were *hippeis*, but it is quite certain that all the *hippeis* were *kaloikagathoi*.³ It was rather a bold action on the part of the poet — for which, indeed, he apologizes⁴ — to introduce them as a chorus. We have seen before, and we can confirm it by a curious indication in the *Acharnians*,⁵ that the situation can be adequately explained by the fact that the knights, like the poet, were violently hostile to Kleon and to the *poneroi*, the 'bad men', the members of the commercial middle-classes who had gained power chiefly through and with the rise of Kleon.⁶ Kratinos is supposed to have called the *poneroi* 'hares', and the reason given for this is that the 'urban hare' as contrasted with the 'rural hare' is not only a coward but also poisonous.⁷ Unless we assume that the

¹ K 731 (οἱ νεανίσκοι, cf Thuc VIII, 92, 6), 225 ² K 225ff

³ Cf Gomme, *Comm on Thuc* I, 15f 'officers and men were alike gentlemen'

⁴ K 507ff

⁵ A 5ff The story of the five talents which the knights had forced Kleon to 'cough up' is very obscure. I do not see how the knights could in real life compel him to do anything of the kind. So it may be a reference to a comedy (cf. Starkie, in his edition of the *Acharnians*, p. 241ff), though I must admit that this is rather a surprising idea, since the *Knights* was performed a year after the lines were spoken. There seems actually to be another reference to the future play in A 300f

⁶ K 185f, 223f, 510f, cf also A 300f

⁷ Kratinos 16 D

Greeks had a completely fantastic view of the nature of the innocent rabbit, we must conclude that the poisonous hares were, in fact, the urban middle and lower classes. In the opinion of their enemies, they have come 'from the market' and have been brought up there, or even worse, they have come from 'near the gates of the town' ¹ The sausage-seller prides himself on his being a 'bad man', and on being able to prove his origin from 'bad men', and so did others in real life.²

That pride is the comic and grotesque counterpart to the intransigent pride of the aristocrats, which could be regarded as justifiable or simply ridiculous, whichever way one looked at it.³ The nobleman might stress the fact that he was going to Kolonos, the hill 'of the knights', not to the market-hill, the Kolonos Agoraios, which was also called 'the hired Kolonos', since it was the place where hired labourers gathered ⁴ Nothing more outraged Andokides, who was of a noble family, than the news that during his exile Kleophon, the lyre-maker and politician, had lived in his house.⁵

Aristocratic pride is, first of all and in its most legitimate form, pride in a high personal tradition. All the old families believed in their descent from the gods, but along with tradition there was certainly much vain boasting and sheer humbug ⁶ It counted much to be able to point to ancestors who had served the State well without gaining any advantage for themselves, and also, of course, to one's own exploits in war.⁷ This sort of pride frequently showed itself in court, but often deteriorated into a mere enumeration not only of the naval battles one had taken part in, but, in the main, of material benefits to the State, such as the undertaking of choregies, trierarchies and the payment of war-taxes.⁸ The same elementary kind of aristocratic feeling can be traced in comedy, and we find very little of that interest in the nature of 'true' nobility, that of character rather than of birth, or still less of wealth, which we find in Euripides ⁹

¹ K 181, 218, 293, 333, 634ff, 1258 — 1245ff, 1398

² K 336f. — Plat 219 ³ Cf Th 329f, F 22

⁴ Kratinos 263, Pherekr 134, adesp 35 D, cf schol B 997

⁵ Andok I, 146

⁶ A 47ff

⁷ K 565ff, 595ff

⁸ Cf, e.g., Lysias XVIII, 7, XIX, 29, 57, XXI, 2ff, XXV, 12, Isokr XVIII, 58ff, XIX, 36

⁹ Examples of such arguments abound in Euripides' plays and fragments, and need not be collected. Some are given below, p 98, n 3

The noble class longed for a life like that of their ancestors, in which, without interference or annoyance, they could wear their hair long and have their bodies oiled and scraped.¹ To wear one's hair long was, in fact, the chief symbol of aristocracy, and there were still quite a few who did so (see Plate VI*a*).² We see the noble youth endeavouring to keep up the aristocratic style of living, which in those democratic times was becoming very unpopular. Thucydides tell us that 'a short time ago' at least the older men among the nobles wore linen chitons and 'buns' of hair pinned with golden 'grasshoppers'.³ In comedy it is said that the nobleman wears rings, the old man has in his hair those golden grasshoppers, and the young people, both boys and girls, like to wear fine clothes and golden trinkets.⁴ We may assume, at least for the time of the Peloponnesian War, that the harmless and simple-minded vanity of this aristocratic ideal is exaggerated. But it is far more than a mere caricature. Otherwise we should have to assume that a vase-painting like that on Plate VI*a*, which represents the noble youth of an earlier generation, was intended to give an exaggerated and comic picture, which it certainly was not. The dandies of the late fifth century cherished an ideal which at the time of their grandfathers had been the normal fashion for noble youths. On a higher social level it corresponds to the day-dreams in which *Dikaiopolis* and other farmer-heroes of comedy enjoy the pleasures of rural life. The similarity which there is between the two in spite of the obvious social differences, has a basis of historical truth, and also bears witness to the importance which form and style in living had for the *kalotkagathoi*.

In the pamphlet of the Pseudo-Xenophon the two social strata are contrasted with each other under various names and from every point of view — their political, their social and economic outlooks as well as their military importance and their education. We cannot deal with all the various epithets which simply indicate the writer's wish to emphasize, indeed to over-

¹ K 578ff, 1121

² C 14, W 466, L 561, adesp 12-14, cf. C 1101, B 911. Thus κομάω can gain the meaning of 'giving oneself airs' C 545, W 1317, Pl 170, 572

³ Thuc. I, 6, 3, cf. Gomme, I, 101f, who adduces a long list of vase-paintings to illustrate the κρωβύλος and the τέττιγες

⁴ E.632 — K 1331, C.984f — L.1189ff

emphasize, the contrast between the two classes. The poet has something of the same purpose when he occasionally compares them with the good old and the bad new coins.¹ Noble origin is like the strong and clear stamp of a coin, we read in tragedy.² The advantages of noble birth and upbringing are a favourite theme in tragedy, though their greater fate may also cause greater suffering to noblemen than is given to the 'numberless'.³ All this reflects the heroic and aristocratic world of myth, but frequently becomes mixed up with the moralism of the fifth century, which suspects that the coin of noble origin may be false.⁴ In the social scale of fifth-century Athens, there still was a nobility of birth, contrasted with the non-noble sections of the populace. We may permit ourselves to call them the nobles and the commons; though there is a false and modern flavour in that antithesis, it may perhaps do more justice to the true historical character of Athenian society than the half-political, half-moralistic language of some of our sources.⁵ It is easy to see that the difference between nobles and commons was not, or at any rate was no longer, a question of origin only. The *lekkythion*, or oil-flask, which Dionysos advises Euripides to buy for one obol, was a *kaloskagathos*, a true aristocrat among its kind. Its price was probably the normal one, if anything, it was a little higher than usual, as even decorated pottery was very cheap,⁶ but it was the important part that Aischylos caused the flask to play which made it a 'noble'. The farmer Strepsiades has a son who is called a *kaloskagathos*, and not only because his mother belonged to an ancient and noble family.⁷ Clearly the men 'of the great families, the foremost in wealth and birth', formed the main part of the upper class.⁸ But the opposition of the two classes is to some extent also based on the antagonism of two generations. The younger men in particular were active in the clubs and in politics in general.⁹ Other references make it clear that even more factors play their part; we must realize

¹ F 717ff ² Eur *Hek* 379f

³ Cf, e.g., Eur *Andr* 768, *Herakl* 297ff — *Hel* 1678f *Phoin* 1623f

⁴ Eur *El* 550, cf 558f, 572

⁵ Cf, e.g., the *χρηστός* and the *πρωτός*, K 1278ff

⁶ F 1234ff Cf D A. Amyx, *Univ of California Publications in Class. Archaeol.* I (1941), 190

⁷ C 797. ⁸ Eupolis 117, 5

⁹ K 852ff, W 342ff, 887ff Cf below, p 110

that the social differences between nobles and commons were complex indeed.

A man is a noble — or should we say a gentleman? — because of the way and style of his life. Strepsiades would have called Sokrates and his friends and pupils, of whom he as yet knows nothing, *kaloikagathoi*, whereas Pheidippides, knowing them to be charlatans, 'palefaced and barefoot vagabonds', regards them as *poneroi*.¹ He himself is a noble in his luxurious style of living. He has 'galloping consumption'; that means, he keeps expensive riding and racing horses, wanting to drive, like his ancestor, in purple garments from a victory at the games to the Acropolis.² Moreover he wastes his father's money in a life of leisure and physical vanity, in bathing, oiling and anointing his body, and tending his hair.³ It was the fashion to admire a man who is 'youthful' or 'dashing', both in his appearance and in his actions.⁴ This is the life for which the knights of the chorus are longing, and — despite all exaggeration — we may take those features as symbolic of the general aspect of aristocratic education and life.⁵ Similarly, peasant-like manners were not confined to peasants, but often meant simply the reverse of good manners.⁶

The noble was instructed and trained in the palaestra, in sports, dancing and music; these were the usual forms of education in earlier times.⁷ The gymnastic and musical education, with its emphasis on the 'agonal' feelings, was the inevitable accompaniment of nobility. It might easily replace political ambitions or, on the other hand, all feeling of responsibility for, and solidarity with, one's fellow citizens.⁸ We learn that the gymnasium in the grove of Akademos was a favoured place,⁹ and it was hardly a mere coincidence that later this place was to become so famous as the original home of the education of mankind. There were, however,

¹ C 101f.

² C 243 — 69f

³ C.835ff.

⁴ K.611, W 1204f, 1307, 1362 *vecavikós*

⁵ K 578ff.

⁶ Cf above, p 86f

⁷ F 729, cf also, e.g., Eur. *Troad* 833f, *Phoin.* 368.

⁸ Cf Eur *Hipp* 1013ff. It is only natural that a young man of such upbringing should have been unable and also unwilling 'to speak to the masses, but better in addressing a few of his comrades' (*Hipp.* 986ff). They 'who give themselves airs' resent it when they are beaten in an argument by inferior people (Eur. *Androm.* 189ff)

⁹ C.1005, Eupolis 32

many gymnasia, and there were competitions between them.¹

The son's fancy for horses drove the rustic father to despair, but we see the same thing in quite a different aspect in the chorus of the *Knights*. When they invoke Poseidon Hippios, the patron of all kinds of racing, of horses as well as of triremes, and when they praise the efficiency and courage of their horses, we get the impression of gallant youths, and we may remember Hippolytos' love for his horses, or the noble beauty of the young men in some vase-paintings (see Plates VI^b, VII^b), or of those who rode in the procession of the Panathenaia as they appear on the Parthenon frieze.² This last comparison is not incidental, we learn that the ancestors of the knights were men 'worthy of this country and the *peplos*',³ and it is well known that presenting the *peplos* to the goddess was actually the object of that procession.

Let us not forget them when we proceed to examine a phenomenon which reveals a somewhat unpleasant side of that youth. The outstanding quality which characterized the nobleman was, according to the view of comedy, the practice of paederasty. The allusions and innuendoes about this practice are legion, for it is one of the most favoured (and most exaggerated) themes of comedy. Everyone who as a noble wore his hair long was a paederast.⁴ As a lover of Demos the sausage-seller felt like one of the nobles.⁵ Love between man and boy was one of the essential features of the great past; it belonged to the *archaia*, and was closely connected with the whole atmosphere of the palaestra.⁶ There were, of course, very different types of paederasty, from romantic love and fashionable 'liaisons' down to pure venality. There is little in common between the blushing boys of Plato's dialogues, and the world of unnatural lust and vice which the comedians depict. They sneer at the members of the aristocratic circles as paederasts, and it made no great difference whether their names were mentioned or they were merely but sufficiently characterized. Even the Thracian king was in love with the

¹ W. 526f, 531ff

² K 551ff, 595ff; cf C 83. Neil, on K 551, well remarks that 'here it is natural that the horse comes before the ship'. — Eur. *Hipp* 1240, 1356.

³ K 566

⁴ adesp 12-14

⁵ K 732ff, cf. 1341ff, also 1162f with Neil's comment.

⁶ K 1385, 1387 — W 1025f, P 762f.

Athenians and behaved like them when he wrote on the wall. 'The Athenians are beautiful.'¹ The love-inscriptions which could once be found scrawled on Athenian walls and doors² have disappeared, but we still have many on vases (see Plates VI*b*, VIII*a*). The boys could be seen 'swathing themselves in bright cloaks and chewing the mastic smelling of perfume', loitering in the market and flirting with the men; afterwards the 'heartless charm of youthful beauty' mocked and laughed at them.³ The boys and youths were often jealous of one another, and they could be extremely coarse.⁴ Old Demos was scolded by the sausage-seller for behaving like those boys in preferring middle-class people as lovers to noblemen.⁵ However, after he had just claimed himself to be Demos' lover like 'many noblemen', it seems preposterous to accept this as a true characterization of the boys in general. Naturally, it was frequently important that the lover was wealthy and generous. The comedians tell us, as the vases do (see Plate VII*a*), that the beloved boys, 'smooth as an eel, with golden ringlets', were given hares and birds as presents.⁶ Noble boys were bitterly scorned, for though they might not take money and therefore were not simply male prostitutes, they took horses and hounds, which was not much better.⁷ Sometimes boys did, in fact, take money and could even be cheated out of it.⁸

¹ Ἀθηναῖοι καλοί, A 144

² W 97ff

³ adesp 338 — Phryn 3 This last fragment is very obscure indeed I admit that I am not certain either what the κέντρον ἐν τοῖς δακτύλοις is, or what the βάθρα mean Mr Edmonds, in explaining the fragment, understands the 'sting in the fingers' as referring to the applause in the theatre or at the Odeion where the *proagon* took place (about the latter see above, p. 27, n 1) But are the βάθρα the seats in the theatre? Was clapping the usual form of applause? I am not sure whether this is the meaning of κρότος χειρῶν in F 157 And are the people referred to part of the audience, or even, as Kaibel thought, other comedians? I believe they must be some of the boy-mimions. However, I should like to quote Edmonds's very charming translation of the relevant lines

And there's no one so sweet
when at market we meet,
but once at the benches they sit,
they mangle and rend
their yesterday's friend
with sniggering whispers of wit

⁴ Cf Lysias, *frg* 17

⁷ Pl 153ff.

⁵ K 735, 737f

⁸ F 148; cf. Lysias III, 22, 25f

⁶ P 11, *frg* 218.—B.707.

More than one house was ruined economically by paederasty.¹

Undoubtedly the middle-class man who had gained wealth followed the custom of the nobles in this as in other ways although he would be more inclined to be ashamed of it.² It remained a characteristic privilege of the upper class. The gentleman, the *gennadas*, was generally characterized by his inclination to drinking and sexual pleasures,³ but boys were a far more frequent object of his love than women. Even if we allow, as we must, that comedy generally over-emphasizes the importance of paederasty as of all sexual matters, the part which it played in the life of the upper class was highly significant and important.

There were other characteristic features also. In general, the nobles paid much attention to their manners and bearing. It could be regarded as the duty of a nobleman to save his face and not to show his feelings in front of the people.⁴ In the *Birds* Poseidon, the special god of the knights, adopted a very distinguished manner, and was horrified at the barbarian god because he wore his coat in the wrong way.⁵ We have already mentioned the old-fashioned style of appearance which the nobles preferred. Some of them, from affectation, wore the simplest clothes; they were the *lakonizontes*, people who imitated the manners of Sparta, the anti-democratic State.⁶ They, of course, also followed Laconian habits as paederasts.⁷

Hunting was one of the enjoyments of the young noble countryman.⁸ But a larger part of the social life of the nobles was devoted to singing and drinking. This general impression gained from comedy is confirmed by a great number of vase-paintings. Although this sort of life was not confined to the noblemen, they again were the only social class for which it was typical. 'The shadows are seven feet long; the company of friends calls me to dinner.'⁹ The meal and the drinking party were usually distinct affairs.¹⁰ Sometimes small boys accompanied their fathers in order to sing during the dinner,¹¹ and they

¹ Isaios X, 25, cf. Xen. *mem.* I, 3, 11, *oik.* 2, 7.

² Cf. Lysias III.

³ F 739f. πίνευ καὶ βίβευ

⁴ Eur. *Iph. A.* 446ff.

⁵ B 1567ff.

⁶ W. 474f., B 1281f., Plat. 124.

⁷ frg. 338

⁸ K. 1382, cf. Eur. *Hek.* 881ff., *Her.* 860, *Iph. T.* 709, and, of course, the *Hippolytos*.

⁹ frg. 675 (the meaning is clear, though the text seems slightly corrupt).

¹⁰ P 770.

¹¹ P 1265ff., 1290, 1295, E 678f., cf. B. 131, L 1067.

self, the chief enemy of the nobles, because it had become a kind of anthem of Athenian democracy¹ The youths generally preferred modern songs, and the great lyric poets of the seventh and sixth centuries were, it is said, more or less forgotten.²

Certain social formalities and customs were observed at the symposia, and it was difficult for an ordinary citizen like Philokleon to conform to them. Water and towel to wash the hands were usually offered before and after the meal³ It was shocking to burst into a symposium 'in the Mykonian way', that is, probably, unannounced or uninvited⁴ On the whole, however, there was an increasing tendency to coarseness. Serious musical art was replaced by lighter entertainments, by flute girls, dancers and acrobats (see Plates VIII, IX).⁵ Xenophon describes these half sportive, half erotic performances of girls and boys, and we know them also from vase-paintings. A fragment of the comic poet Platon apparently refers to the luxury of modern symposia, the people 'lie on couches with ivory feet, covered with purple coverlets and robes from Sardes'⁶ In considering such descriptions we must remember that it has been customary in all ages to exhort younger people to live the simple life of their ancestors; even the comic writer Chionides, who is said to have lived in the age of the Persian War, reminded an effeminate youth of the example of those who 'sleep on mats'⁷

It is, however, neither mere fancy nor the usual grumbling of older people, when the comic poets again and again deride the idling of the *jeunesse dorée* who loitered in the marketplace, standing near the perfume stalls and making affected speeches in the style of the sophists, or prattling stupidly about fragrant flowers⁸ These are the youths who had a warm bath early in the morning, and were drunk before the market was full.⁹ Hermippos says the 'good man' must not get drunk

¹ A 980, 1093, W 1224ff, cf L 632ff On the originally aristocratic nature of the *skolia* see my *Aspects of the Ancient World*, 89, and *P-W*, Suppl VII, 294

² C 1356ff, frg 223, Eupolis 139.

³ W 1216f, B 463f, frg 502

⁴ adesp 439 — frg 272, 483. This is regarded as typical of having an easy life οὐ γὰρ ἄκανθα But it certainly was not good manners Cf Herbst, *P-W* XVI, 1031f

⁵ adesp 680

⁶ Xen *Symp* 2 — Plat 208, cf already Kratinos 301

⁷ Chionides 1

⁸ ἄγοράσαι, K 1373, 1375ff, adesp 42 D. — Pherekr 2

⁹ Pherekr 2, 29

nor indulge in warm baths, his purpose is to point out the contrast with the dissipated and degenerate *kaloskagathos*.¹ Such a type is often exemplified in a certain Kleisthenes, whereas the young Alkibiades was attacked far less frequently, if not by all the comic writers, certainly by Aristophanes, who occasionally alluded only to his 'lisp' or to his use of the modern manner of speech, once, however, he is depicted as the leader of the dissolute younger generation.² He was the most prominent representative of aristocratic youth, both in good and in bad qualities.³ 'Their life is nothing but headache, bathing, pure wine, chamber-pot, idleness, and drinking.'⁴ The son in the *Dastales* who was given a modern education was ignorant of everything except 'drinking, singing bad songs, Syracusan cooking, Sybaritic luxuries and Chian wine from Laconian cups'.⁵ Many of these youths and men, among them especially the poet Agathon, were sneered at, not only as dissolute, but as effeminate. Agathon, according to comedy, always carried with him his shaving-utensils, not only to get rid of all traces of the male beard, but to shave as women do.⁶ The 'Weaklings' (*Malthakoi*, as already a comedy of Kratinos was called) decked themselves with the most elegant flowers, wore coats of Persian wool which were much warmer than the ordinary coats, and even wore 'white felt slippers on their feet'.⁷ But when the poet blamed the young men for wearing the *himation* instead of going naked or wearing only the *chiton*, he diverged, as the vases show, from the normal Athenian custom and was pleading for the Laconian fashion.⁸ On the whole the average youth, who enjoyed his life and did not wish for anything better, was 'a little weakling', like the young man so described by an old hag, half in love and half in contempt.⁹ Many of the young men were also accused of having provided for themselves lucrative and safe posts in war-time, and Aristophanes even maintains that young men educated by the sophists and without the training of the palaestra were filling

¹ Hermipp 76, cf also frg 237

² Alkibiades Pherekr 155, Eupolis 158, adesp 3-5 His lisp and manner of speech W 44ff, frg 198, 6, his leadership A 716

³ Cf, e.g., Thuc VI, 15, 3, Lysias XIV, 25ff, frg. 30, Isokr. XVI, 25, 31.

⁴ adesp 375

⁵ frg 216

⁶ Th 218ff — E 65f

⁷ Kratinos 98 — W 1151ff — Kratinos 100, cf K.889, Hermipp 47, 4, Lysipp 2

⁸ C 965, 987 See Plates VIIa, Xb

⁹ E 105f.

the ranks of the new class of 'small clerks and beggarly charlatans'.¹

Nobility and wealth were often connected; for, on the whole, the nobles still represented the landed gentry of old.² Nevertheless they were not the rich. The prologue of Euripides' *Stheneboia*, quoted in the *Frogs*, begins with the commonplace that nobody is lucky in every way: 'one man is of noble birth, but lacks money'.³ In the *Phoenician Women* Euripides expressly tells us that noble birth 'does not feed a man'. 'A nobleman who is poor is nothing'.⁴ The impoverishment of part of the nobles is confirmed by their very way of living. Though many of them squandered their hereditary property, there were others who had little to squander. We cannot say whether the noblemen from Karystos mentioned by Aristophanes were entertained by aristocrats, though their connection with the oligarchs as recorded by Thucydides makes that likely; their feast, at any rate, was ridiculed as consisting of some of the popular pea-soup and the remains of a sacrificial sucking-pig.⁵ This was certainly not a luxurious dinner, for pea-soup was the favourite dish of the glutton Herakles, who always cared more for substance and quantity than for quality.⁶ One of the knights and swaggering officers went shopping in the market on horseback to 'buy a pease-pudding, stowing it in his helmet'.⁷ In a later chapter we shall deal with the importance of money and wealth for the whole of Athenian life, and for the individual Athenian in general; but we must mention here the changed aspects of the wealth of the upper classes. The habits of noble youths (horses and boys) were very expensive. Apart from the traditional connection between aristocracy and inherited wealth, there were no doubt a certain number of well-to-do and even rich people in Athens, and it is almost certain that not only most of the nobles and the upper class in general were rich, but also the majority of the higher State-officials and even many members of the Boule.⁸ The evidence of the official inscriptions is confirmed by the evidence of the

¹ A.600ff — F.1083ff.

² Cf, e.g., Eupolis 117, 5; Isokr XVI, 25, 31, XIX, 7, 36

³ Euripides 16 P, 1ff = *frag.* 661, F 1217f

⁴ Eur *Phoen.* 404f, 442.

⁵ L.1059ff. — Thuc VIII, 69, 3

⁶ F 62f

⁷ L 559ff

⁸ Cf W 1171 — J Sundwall, *Epigraphische Beiträge* (Klio, Beiheft IV)

love-inscriptions on vases.¹ Many of the *kaloi* became archons or strategoi, all of them became 'good men'. Good men were brave men, and thus served their Polis,² but they did this not only as hoplites or strategoi, also as magistrates, as councillors, as citizens in general. Here we touch on the very nature of those who claimed to be the 'fine and brave' (or whatever English words we like to use for the not translatable *kaloi-kagathoi*). When we realize that the boy was *kalos*, i.e. beautiful, and the man *agathos*, i.e. a good citizen, in particular as a soldier, we seem to be approaching an explanation of the obscure expression *kaloskagathos*.³ The word had been used to characterize the aristocracy and its members, but eventually it came to indicate some special qualities which might be ascribed to that class but were not confined to it. The *kaloskagathoi* were said to be the real and true 'men', the 'good men'.⁴ They had been fine boys, they now were fine, brave, worthy and dignified men. In recognizing that style in living is the outstanding quality of the *kaloskagathos* we combine the two meanings of the *kalos* and the *agathos*. *Kalokagathia*, when it became a sort of personal virtue, was no longer confined to the old social sense, but it was still used of the upper classes alone.⁵

Its meaning was therefore somewhat ambiguous, for it referred to an upper class which was no longer simply the aristocracy. This becomes particularly clear when we think of the highest office in the State. The social change here is

¹ Cf., in spite of their obvious insufficiency and incorrectness, the valuable suggestions in D. M. Robinson and E. J. Fluck, *A Study of the Greek Love-Names* (1937), esp. 47f, 66ff. See also above, p. 101. For a full list of love-names by red-figure painters see J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, App. III, pp. 912ff.

² A. 696

³ ἀγαθὸς πολίτης, K 944. In introducing the two age groups of boy and man as an additional element of the composed expression καλὸς κάγαθος we go beyond the explanation formulated, e.g. by H.-I. Marrou in his valuable book *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (1948), 77ff, as the union of 'l'aspect moral et l'aspect physique'. Nor does it seem adequate to base this double aspect on 'sport' alone.

⁴ K 179, 333, 392, 1255, W 1185, 1256, Cf. J. Juthner, *Charisteria f. Rzacha* (1930), 101f.

⁵ This is perhaps the case of the man who in Eupolis' *Demoi* (109) claimed to have a γυνή καλή τε κάγαθή who had loved him from a girl (cf. Eur. *Iph. A.* 750). It is, however, also possible that a second Strepsiades is speaking, as probably also in another fragment (Kantharos 5) which emphasizes the woman's Athenian origin: γυναικί 'Αθηναίων καλήν τε κάγαθήν.

described, though also strongly exaggerated, by Eupolis: 'in previous times, the strategoi were taken from the highest families, now they come from the scum of the people'¹ We know that many noble or at least wealthy men were among the strategoi, and that fairly often there was a certain heritage in office from father to son. A sort of military aristocracy still held the *strategia* and other higher military posts throughout the fourth century.² But there were many 'new' families, and moreover, ever since Kleon had been strategos in the years 425-422, there had been signs of a gradual invasion by the middle and lower classes

Although examples of these facts are given as early as the *Knights*, it is obvious that there was more change and development during the succeeding years. The chorus of the *Knights*, though they sneered at the Demos for being fooled by the demagogues, yet hailed the regenerated Demos as 'King of the Hellenes' who was 'worthy of the State and the trophy of the plain of Marathon'.³ The knights were not the representatives of an oligarchy, which actually grew in strength during the following decades, an oligarchy filled with hatred, and eager to fight democracy, regardless of the fact that the war might be lost and the empire destroyed. Although Aristophanes had every reason not to bring before the public such an attitude if it existed, the mere fact that the poet gave the nobles such an important part in the play, and the way he describes them, prove that at that time the people did not regard them as the sworn enemies of democracy.⁴

The aristocracy became poorer, and in other classes wealth had increased so as to reach upper-class standards. Some rich men were accepted by the aristocrats among their own ranks, and Nikias even became to some extent their political leader. In the oligarchic revolution of 411 citizenship was not to be restricted to the owners of landed property or of other great wealth, nor to the 'Eupatridai', but was to include all people of hoplite census. The rule of the upper classes was, in fact,

¹ Eupolis 117 (in the *Demos* of 412)

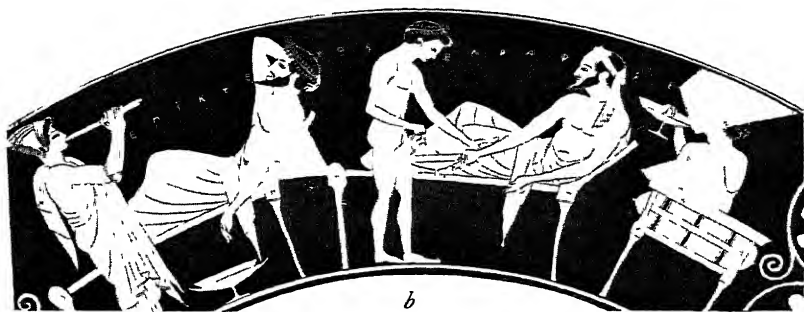
² Cf Sundwall, *l.c.*, 27ff. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* II, 2, 260ff.

³ K. 1111ff. — 1333f.

⁴ Cf. the more general remarks on the patriotism of oligarchs by Gomme in a paper on *The Old Oligarch* (*Harvard Studies, Vol. for Ferguson*, 238ff). In later years the νεωλύσοι, as a sort of stormtroopers, played a sinister part in the service of the oligarchs or the Thirty (Thuc. VIII, 69, 4. Xen. *hell.* II, 3, 23).



a



b

WINE AND MUSIC



a



b

DANCING GIRLS

neither pure plutocracy nor pure oligarchy. It included a larger part of the people, and it opposed, at least theoretically, the democratic leaders and some of the democratic institutions rather than the demos.

Without dwelling on the composition of the upper classes, the comic poets saw the change of attitude, especially in the younger generation. Euripides is accused of having made the citizens 'market-walkers'.¹ In earlier times the young man went to the gymnasium or went hunting, now he frequents the agora and concerns himself with *prophismata*, the decrees accepted in the assembly of the people.² In adapting the proverb 'Don't give a knife to a child', Eupolis gives a warning against handing over the State to a child.³ Miltiades and Perikles, who in the same comedy of Eupolis, the *Demoi*, had come to life again, took charge of the State 'nor let us suffer the rule and the sway of peevish minions who trail high offices like a flaunting robe'.⁴ In spite of his origin one of these young men was also the demagogue who had only recently been admitted as a citizen, and who is said to have his friends among the 'lazy profligates', or to be one of them himself, and not a man of dignity.⁵ 'If only they did not carry baskets full of verdicts and heaps of decrees!'⁶ It has been proved from the inscriptions that most of the speakers in the assembly, and the movers of public decrees also, belonged to wealthy families.

In his famous description of the age Thucydides mentions the fact that relationship was pushed aside by the *hetairia*, the party club.⁸ We may assume that the youths of Bdelykleon's drinking

¹ ἀγοραῖοι, F 1015

² K 1373, 1382f, C 991, and elsewhere

³ Eupolis 121.

⁴ Eupolis 100

⁵ Eupolis 40 P, 24. It depends on the restoration of the missing end of the line whether the upstart himself or his friends belong to the ἀπράγμονες πρόρνοι, translated by Page as 'unpolitical pansies'. Jensen, *Abh Preuss Ak* 1939, no 14, 8ff, following A. Mayer, *Berl Phil Wochenschr* 1912, 832, takes them as 'Prostituierte niederen Ranges' and contrasts them with the noble σεμνοί. But ἀπράγμων is not a contrast to σεμνός, although it is here a word of blame. Eupolis seems to be at variance with the condemnation of πολυπραγμοσύνη, so well known from Aristophanes and other sources, though the issue is not quite so simple. I have dealt with these questions in my article on *Polypragmosyne* (*JHS* LXVII, 1947, 46ff).

⁶ frg 217

⁷ Sundwall, *l.c.*, 62ff

⁸ Thuc. III, 82, 6

party, 'Phrynichos' gang', were a sort of informal *hetairia*.¹ Frequently groups of young noblemen joined company without any thought of politics. The 'young comrades' of Hippolytos in Euripides' play are of that kind, their aims are not political power, but a victory in one of the Panhellenic festivals and, being second in the State, to live on good terms with the 'best men'.² Perhaps it is the same kind of people whom Euripides describes as the young men eager to win glory in just and righteous warfare.³ But as early as 424 the nobles were censured for being conspirators.⁴ The expression 'conspirators' is, in fact, the word normally used in comedy for the members of the oligarchic clubs.⁵ Almost all the passages in which the 'conspirators' are mentioned, testify — although with comic exaggeration — to the widespread fear that the clubs would one day try to overthrow democracy, in particular with the help of oligarchs from other States.⁶ To democracy the policy of these clubs or *hetairiai* meant the same as tyranny, and somebody 'riding' (the word is used in an obscene sense) was obviously aiming at a sort of 'Hippias' tyranny'.⁷ Impoverished nobles were the natural supporters of a tyrant, aiming at civil strife and at plundering those who by steady industry had gained wealth.⁸ The fact that they had become involved in everyday politics, secretly or openly, in *hetairiai* or in the

¹ W 1302. It seems much more probable that the Phrynichos mentioned here was the oligarchic leader of later years than the dancer of v. 1490 — unless Andok. I, 47 (Φρύνιχος ὁ ὀρχησάμενος, altered by A. Wilhelm into Ὀρχησαμένου) proves that the dancer is a comic invention to fit in with the name of Phrynichos' father.

² Eur. *Hipp.* 1098, 1179ff — 1013ff.

³ Eur. *Hik.* 232f. ⁴ K 257.

⁵ συνωμόται, K 257, 452, 475f, 628, 862, W 345, 483, 488, 507, 953. In general, cf. G. M. Calhoun, *Athenian Clubs in Politics and Litigation* (1913).

⁶ That is why Ps.-Xen. II, 15 states that the Athenians would get rid of this fear if they lived on an island. Cf. also L 577f, words spoken on the stage a few weeks before the outbreak of revolution in 411, and very similar to those of Thuc. VIII, 54, 4, when he describes the activities of the συνωμοσται at that very moment.

⁷ W. 501f.

⁸ Eur. *Her.* 588ff. Wilamowitz, comparing Plato, *Rep.* VIII, 555 D, takes this interesting and realistic passage as a picture of something that could happen in an oligarchy only. But Euripides describes Lykos' rule, i.e. the rise of a tyrant in a mythical monarchy, and if he is alluding to contemporary conditions, as he undoubtedly is, he is thinking of those people whose political intrigues eventually led to the oligarchic revolutions of 411 and 404.

We learn next to nothing from comedy about the women of the upper classes. This may only confirm that they lived a life remote from public affairs and social events; but their moral standards were probably on the decline, and it is perhaps not without significance that Euripides' Phaidra charges women from noble families with having introduced adultery.¹

At the time of the performance of the *Knights*, the old aristocratic ideal was still fully alive, but the threatening signs of change were also visible. Twenty years later the process was more or less complete. The attempts to restore, once again, the political rule of the upper classes, though, as we have seen, this did not mean merely that of the nobles, continued the decline of the aristocracy. The revolution of the Four Hundred in 411, and even more the rule of the Thirty in 403, failed, not so much because of the resistance of the democrats as through the weakness and corruption of the oligarchs. The *kaloikagathoi*, represented by the tyranny of unscrupulous and individualistic 'supermen' like Kritias, using the knights as their main military weapon, were a bitter caricature indeed,² and opposition, though powerless, arose among their own followers.

The political leaders and events finally crushed the fading ideal of aristocracy. The name of *kaloikagathoi* entirely lost its social meaning, it was no longer descriptive even of a general upper class, and became a merely individual and moral title.³ This was part of a general development, in the course of which, for instance, the name of the Hellenes became an expression of the standard of personal education. People who aimed at 'being called' *kaloikagathoi* had to excel in several good qualities, which, of course, were not only those of an honest and pedantic *pater familias* and farmer, as they are in Xenophon's description.⁴ The result of the process was clear enough. In the fourth century, there were still some prominent individual aristocrats in Athens, there were theories and ideas of truly aristocratic life and mind, but there was no longer an aristocracy worthy of the name.

¹ Eur *Hipp* 407ff. In general, see ch. VIII.

² Xen *hell* II, 3, 12ff; 38, 4, 6f, 24.

³ Xen *mem* I, 1, 16, 2, 17, *symp* 3, 4, 9, 1, Antiphon I, 14, and elsewhere.

⁴ Xen *oik* 6, 12ff. Juthner, *l.c.*, 102ff, deals at length with the various meanings of the word and their changes.

CHAPTER V

TRADERS AND CRAFTSMEN

IT is perhaps our chief task, when explaining the structure of Athenian social life, to discover the occupations followed by those members of the population who were not peasants. They were the majority, though perhaps not of the citizens, certainly of the townsfolk who were the most influential section of the people. The sources, especially of the fourth century, make it clear that they were engaged in trade, or in some form of industry or manufacture. It is of great importance for our purposes to discover the meaning, in fifth-century Athens, of those two terms, traders and craftsmen, and to understand the social position of the two classes.

I

Modern research on Attic trade has rightly taken as its starting-point the Greek words for the 'merchant'. The chief words which occur are *kapelos*, retailer, *emporos*, trader, and *naukleros*, shipowner.¹ But in dealing with these expressions, nearly all scholars assume too readily the accuracy of interpretation of the many different words, given by philosophers like Aristotle, or even by late scholia and lexica.² It has therefore been justly emphasized that wide divergences can be found, even in the same author, in the use of the terms mentioned above, as indicating various kinds of trade.³ The whole question is well worth consideration, and we can find in comedy confirmation that *kapelos* and *emporos* at least were two

¹ H. Knorrhinga, *Emporos*. Cf. Ehrenberg, *DLZ* 1927, 1308ff. Oertel, *Gnomon* VI (1930), 35ff. Most important Hasebroek, 1ff, cf., on the German original, Oertel, *DLZ*. 1928, 1618ff. Salin, *Ztschr. f. d. gesamte Staatswiss* 89 (1930), 353ff.

² e.g. Aristotle, *pol.* 1258b, 20ff. Moreover, it is very doubtful whether special names like αὐτοπώλης, παλιγκάπηλος, μεταβολεὺς covered real occupations, and were used in daily life. I shall have to speak later of the παλιγκάπηλος.

³ Finkelstein, *Cl. Phil.* XXX (1935), 320ff.

forms of trade which differed in nature and importance.¹

The *kapelos*, a word very often used in its feminine form,² was the local retail-trader, from whom one could buy many and miscellaneous things, even torches and weapons,³ but, above all, he or she was a wine-seller and the keeper of an inn or public house.⁴ It is significant that the word which expressed the pouring of wine into cups gradually acquired the meaning of general retailing.⁵ Apparently more women than men were engaged in this occupation. Thus the rhetorical question is asked: what can the *kapelos* buy from the *kapelis* except wine?⁶ The hosts or hostesses of public houses were well-known people, especially to women who, again and again, are depicted in comedy as drunkards. Of the many women who appear at the women's assembly only the wife of the *kapelos* is called by the name of her husband's occupation.⁷ The *kapeleion* was the 'pub', the door of which could be compared to an eyelid, because it was constantly opening and shutting.⁸

The *kapelos* was on the whole looked down on. Dishonesty was the characteristic feature of the 'mind of a *kapelos*', and to translate this phrase by 'a shopkeeper's outlook' would be to give it too favourable an interpretation, it simply meant the desire and ability to cheat.⁹ The women who sold bread were another typical example of the profession, notorious for their powers of invective and abuse; like all hucksters, they were low people who might easily receive harsh treatment.¹⁰ The 'egg-and-seed-and-potherb-market-girls' and 'garlic-selling-barmaid-bakehouse-girls' were true *dames des halles*.¹¹ When a

¹ The suggestion of one of my reviewers that the mere translation of ἐμπορος and κάπηλος as given by Liddell and Scott reveals all that I have tried to illuminate with regard to the two professions from the evidence of comedy, hardly needs refutation. It has, in fact, been rejected beforehand by the extensive discussion on the social implications of the two words, that has been going on for years among a number of scholars.

² ἡ καπηλὶς. *Kapelides* was also the title of a comedy (Theopomp 24ff).

³ C 614, P 447, cf Lysias I, 24.

⁴ L 466, Th 347, 737, Pl 435, 1120 πανδοκευτρία (hostess) is only another word for καπηλὶς F 114, 549ff, Pl 426, Eupolis 9.

⁵ κοτυλίζειν. frg. 683, Pherekr 168 Cf Heichelheim, 345.

⁶ adesp 567 ⁷ E 49 ⁸ L 427, adesp 493.

⁹ κάπηλον φρόνημα, adesp 867 Cf also the obscure proverbial phrase οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ καπήλῳ νοῦς in Plat 174, 3f, the text is obviously corrupt.

¹⁰ W 1388ff, L 560ff ¹¹ L 457f.

woman shouted at somebody, she was like an inn-keeper or pease-pudding-seller¹. And an old woman who used 'make-up' looked 'like a *kapelis*', that is, in professional style,² probably not because of her attractive shop-front, but because she belonged to the world of the innkeeper or retailer: a wine-shop was often a brothel. It was a frequently repeated insult to refer directly or indirectly to Euripides' mother as a greengrocer, or to that of Kleophon as a fishmonger; Euripides himself was called a chervil-seller.³ A man who got his nickname from owning a stall or a tent, and who in fact was a very low fellow, was probably some sort of *kapelos*.⁴ Therefore the sausage-seller at first asked himself modestly enough, how he 'could become a man', meaning 'a good man', a gentleman; for his stall was not even in the market, but at the gate.⁵ This implied a still lower and more disreputable standing, probably because there were no fixed stalls there. Later, after his success in the contest with the Paphlagonian, he gradually became 'a man', even felt himself one of the nobles, and sneered at the lamp-sellers, shoe-makers, cobblers and leather-sellers, that is to say, men such as Hyperbolos and Kleon.⁶ All these references are evidence of the low and despised position of the retail trade.

The *emporos*, on the other hand, was an important and respected man, and at the same time his work was profitable.⁷ A man who gave himself the airs of a 'big *emporos*' was a boastful fellow and his wealth a sham,⁸ though these words confirm the fact that, in public opinion, *emporía* and wealth went hand in hand. The chief difference between *emporía* and

¹ Pl 426f

² καπηλικῶς, Pl 1063, cf K 492 (παιδοτριβικῶς), and the parallels mentioned by Neil

³ A. 478, K 19, Th 387, F 840, cf adesp 16 — Plat 56 — adesp 2 D

⁴ Isokr. XVII, 33 Πυθόδωρος ὁ σκηνίτης καλούμενος, probably because he owned a tent or stall instead of a shop. Cf IG II², 1672, 13, 15, 171 (*Syll*², 587), also VII¹, 2712, 72

⁵ K 179, 1245ff.

⁶ K 333, 392, 1255 — 738ff

⁷ P 296, B 594, 717f, Pl 520f, 904, cf Xen. *mem.* III, 4, 2. Is it because of the different estimation of καπηλία and ἐμπορία that Theseus in Euripides' *Hippolytos* charges his son with some sort of καπηλεύειν (953 — whatever the corrupt line may mean), but speaks of Phaidra as καὶ ἤν ἐμπορον βίου (964)?

⁸ Eupolis 122. I believe that Eupolis used μεγαλέμπορος in this sense, and not merely as 'wholesale merchant' (Liddell and Scott), — if he used it at all, since we cannot say which words in schol. B 822 actually go back to Eupolis

kapelia, however, did not lie in the difference between wealth and poverty, but in the type of trade which the words denote.¹ It is significant that the *emporos* was a trader who was not confined to his own particular locality. The word *emporos* originally signified a man who went as a passenger on another man's ship. This, of course, usually meant not a tourist, but a trader who took his goods with him and sold them at various ports. Thus the *emporos* was the overseas trader, and ultimately *emporía* implied all trade abroad both by land and sea. Therefore goods from Boeotia and Megara were called 'goods of *emporía*'.² Goods from Euboia were as a rule sent by land along the Oropos road; but the occupation of Dekeleia made necessary the detour round Attica by sea.³ Land-trade, on the whole, however, was exceptional, and generally *emporía* meant sea-trade, as we should expect from the geographical situation of Greece, and of Athens in particular.⁴ So it can be said of some cargo-ships that they accompanied the Sicilian expedition 'because of *emporía*', although they only went for retail trade with the troops.⁵

In many cases the *emporos*, as the original meaning of the word implies, was not the owner of the ship on which he carried his goods. The shipowner was the *naukleros*.⁶ But the

¹ Cf schol Pl 1155

² A 974 — Finkelstein, 336, 66 believes the 'wholesale dealer' to have been a small retailer in winter, and then to have dealt with agrarian products from Boeotia and Megara. By this explanation, however, he restricts, in a way similar to that of the scholars opposed by him, a certain idea, in this case that of the *emporos*, to limits far too narrow. Besides, none of our sources gives any ground for this view, and there is no reason why the Boeotians and Megarians should not have brought their goods to Athens in all seasons.

³ Thuc VII, 28, 1. Westlake, *Cl Rev* LXII (1948), 2ff, has shown that the common interpretation of that passage is mistaken. The increased expenditure, of which Thucydides speaks, does not refer to the costs of transport by sea, but to those generally incurred by the necessity of compensating for the loss of Attic production. Thus we need no longer try to support the surprising 'fact' of the higher costs of the sea route by the regulations in *IG* I², 40, 19ff, which, though reducing in certain cases the fees for ferrying across the Euripus, have really nothing to do with the trade from Euboia to Athens (cf Ziebarth, 123).

⁴ A *poros* therefore could not be imagined except at sea (P 124f, F 1465, Kratinos 206).

⁵ Thuc VI, 44, 1, cf 36, 5. Such *ἐμποροί* in the train of an army became more and more numerous and usual, they could be called an *ἀγοραῖος ὄχλος* (Xen *hell* I, 6, 37, VI, 2, 23). Cf H Schaefer, *Museum Helveticum* VI (1949), 52.

⁶ Thus Charon's ferrying could be called *ναυκληρία* (Eur *Alk* 258).

distinction, clear as it seems, does not always hold good. Although in exceptional cases, as we have said, the *emporos* was also a land-trader, in fact both *naukleros* and *emporos* together represented sea-trade.¹ Especially since every corn-ship had to call at the Peiraeus, it had become impossible to distinguish one from the other.² In a famous fragment of Hermippos, Dionysos is called a *naukleros* who brings all the products of the world to Athens.³ In another fragment we are told that the tomb of Themistokles could be seen by the *emporoi* when entering harbour and leaving it.⁴ In another source, the *emporoi* and 'those who enter harbour' are the same people, the wholesale corn-traders, and there were *emporoi* who sailed round the Peloponnesos.⁵ There was no clear distinction between *emporos* and *naukleros*, and the actual usage implies that the words were interchangeable.⁶ Many a *naukleros*, who sailed with his own cargo, sold and bought goods, many an *emporos* used to hire a ship and sail from port to port. Andokides, as he himself tells us, was *naukleros* and *emporos* in one.⁸ Both shipowner and trader ran the risk of losing either ship or cargo or both.⁹ It is confirmed from other sources that there was only a small number of people who used one or more ships of their own for trading, unless they took up a loan, or were engaged only in the carrying-trade.¹⁰ All sea-trade was as yet on a small scale. In general, when a man had enough money, he did not sail himself, nor did he let his ships sail,

¹ Cf, e.g., Xen *Poroi* 3, 4f

² Glotz, 184

³ Hermipp 63 Only a knowledge of the lost play would tell us how Dionysos came to be a shipowner, there may be some recollection of the story of the god and the sailors. It is hardly probable that the fragment alluded to 'a captain Dionysos' (Ziebarth). Dionysos as the name of a man is very rare indeed

⁴ Plat 183

⁵ Lysias XXII, 17, 21 — Thuc II, 67, 4

⁶ We have, it is true, two inscriptions of the time, dealing with (perhaps even a sort of guild of) ναύκληροι (*IG* I², 127, 128). Unfortunately they are badly damaged, and in both places where ναύκληροι are mentioned it is possible that ἑμποροί, too, were referred to (127, 33; 128, 3 f), cf. already Ziebarth, 138.

⁷ αὐτόφορος, Kratinos 248 — Xen *οἰκ* 8, 12

⁸ Andokides I, 137 — Heichelheim, 335, speaks of the mutual economic approach of *naukleria* and *emporía*. I should think a growing distinction is more probable, considering the increasing specialization of the time, and the growing importance of bottomry

⁹ B 593ff, 598, 711, Pl 1179, adesp 377, cf Eur *ŷg* 417

¹⁰ Its existence is proved by Heichelheim, 337f, against Hasebroek

but lent money to the *emporoi*. It is not accidental that the comic poets do not distinguish the *naukleros* from the *emporos*, and indeed scarcely mention him ¹

The idea of sea-trade was even more familiar to the average man than that of agricultural life. Nautical metaphors and similes abound in comedy as well as, for instance, in Euripides.² The huge beetle in the *Peace* could be compared to the men coiling ropes into ships.³ There was a saying which meant that nothing can be done beyond a man's power. 'Let not the cargo be larger than the ship'.⁴ Of a man unable to stand an ordeal, it is said that he 'cannot keep his head above the bilge-water', and a clever man could be called one 'who has sailed over the seas', who knows 'how to shift to the comfortable side of the boat'.⁵ Or if one wished to indicate the moment when the greatest effort was wanted, one could say 'into the harbour'.⁶ Sea-trade, supported by the political power of Athens, and reaching 'from the Black Sea to Sardinia', was the cause of special pride.⁷ Athenian ships and *emporía* were found as far as Caria in the East and Carthage in the West.⁸ These geographical claims were hardly exaggerated, and the pride based upon them implied that the profession of the *emporos* enjoyed general and high esteem. The freedom of the sea and of international trade seemed entirely indispensable for peace and prosperity. That is why the consequences of the Megarian Decree were so disastrous to everyone concerned.⁹ That too is the reason for such internal measures in Athens as the practice of hearing the lawsuits of the *emporoi* in winter, when sea-traffic was almost impossible.¹⁰ It is also from such pre-suppositions, that we are to understand the fantastic announcement of Prometheus, the deserter from Olympus, that Zeus is

¹ Perhaps it is a further proof of the vagueness of the word *naukleros* that it could also be used to indicate the owners of lodging-houses (Sannyrion 6, cf. Isaios VI, 19). Boisacq, *Dict. étymol.* 658 apparently supposes that both meanings derive from *naukraros*.

² Examples from Euripides: *Hipp.* 1221f, *Hek.* 1081f, *Androm.* 554f, 854f, *Herakleid.* 427ff, *Her.* 631, 1094, 1424, *Tro.* 538f, 688ff, *Iph. T.* 1133ff, *Or.* 706f, 727f, *Kykl.* 505, *frg.* 306, 417, 793.

³ P 36f

⁴ *adesp.* 512

⁵ P 17 — F 533ff, cf. also 999ff, 1220f, E 1091, 1105ff

⁶ *frg.* 85

⁷ W. 700

⁸ K 169ff

⁹ A 532ff, P 608ff. Cf. below, ch. XII, pp. 328ff

¹⁰ E 1027, Pl 904, *frg.* 904; cf. Andok. I, 137, Lysias XVII, 5

subjected to threats by the barbarian gods, because he did not keep open the trading places.¹

Aristophanes seems to criticize the *emporos* only once, in the *Ploutos*, at a time when social tension had greatly increased. He then speaks of the 'insatiable Thessalian slave-dealers' who took great risks for the sake of gain.² No doubt such men represented a type that to some extent cut across the usual pattern of *emporoi*, and therefore caused resentment. It is for this reason, and not because he was engaged in a special kind of local trade, that even the slave-dealer could be called a *kapelos*.³ Otherwise there is no sign of criticism of the *emporoi*, and the question how the *emporos* has made his money is never asked. It seems to have been the general opinion, needing no explanation, that it was not the *emporos*, but the toll-gatherer, who made illegal gains from sea-trade.⁴ To carry contraband, and thus to break the customs laws, was a heavy crime, and one with which again the toll-gatherer is charged, not the merchant or shipowner.⁵

Their way of making money, however, certainly helped to give rise to feeling against the *kapeloi*. Again and again, the comic writers allude to the insidious machinations of the flour-dealers, the innkeepers, the bird-sellers, the wool-merchants, or the fishmongers — all of them *kapeloi*.⁶ A lame *kapelos* got the nickname 'partridge', because of the tricks this bird is said to play in order to lead the hunters away from its nest.⁷ A comic writer also called a man a racketeer when he forced up prices 'like Achilles' with Priam.⁸ It goes without saying that war-profiteers were most unpopular, so that spear-makers or dealers in arms are regarded as deserving very heavy punishment, no less than ambitious generals, runaway slaves and

¹ B. 1520ff.

² Pl 520f

³ ἀνδραποδοκάπηλος ὁ νῦν λεγόμενος σωματέμπορος (Isaios in Harpokr, s v)

⁴ K 248

⁵ F 361ff

⁶ K 1009, C 639f, E 422ff, frg 465, 683 — E 153ff, Pl 435f. — B 1079ff, adesp 934 — F 1386f — frg 387, 7ff, Plat 29, Archipp 25. If the word ἀλφιτάυσιβοι (E 422ff) is really to be interpreted on these lines, it must have meant tradesmen who gave flour to the peasants in exchange for their products (cf E 817ff). But this I doubt. I should rather believe the word to be a comic perversion of ἀλφιτοπώλης or ἀλφιτοποιός, suggesting that the flour was exchanged, i.e. that they gave bad flour instead of good, they were 'flour-swindlers'. Cf the similar idea in frg 683.

⁷ B 1292f, cf 767f

⁸ Phryn. 52

other profiteers and advocates of war¹ To the same class belonged Kleon, the leather-seller, who is said to have sold bad shoe-leather,² or Hyperbolos, the lamp-maker, who made a fortune 'by evil doing', that is to say by cheating; the scholiast explains that he used lead instead of bronze.³ Dietrephes also, who became *phylarchos* and *hipparchos* and a powerful man, had grown rich by selling wicker flasks, and by following crooked paths.⁴ How differently the comic poets judged *emporoi* and *kapeloi* is obvious. We shall see later how far this difference was justified. Clearly one reason why in comedy more attention is paid to the *kapeloi* was that their methods of trading touched the people much more directly.

2

Modern historians usually think of the leading politicians after Perikles, of Kleon, Hyperbolos and their like, as big manufacturers or at least as owners of an artisan's business on a large scale, that is to say only as producers. In comedy they are placed on the same level as retailers and hucksters. Even the cattle-dealer Lysikles, Perikles' friend who after his death married Aspasia, was called a 'cattle-retailer', a vocation which certainly did not exist.⁵ All this is, no doubt, comic distortion and exaggeration. It is, however, a historical fact that the leading politicians belonged to the middle-class of business men. They gradually displaced the aristocratic leaders, the men 'from the great houses'.⁶ Their appearance in political life was quite new when the earlier plays of Aristophanes were written, so it seemed worth while to attack the upstarts. Apparently, it made no great difference to him whether they were industrial townspeople or of agrarian origin. Eukrates returned from politics 'to his bran', a phrase, however, which may imply trade as well as agriculture.⁷ Men who in earlier times would have been refused appointment as wine inspectors (certainly a public office) were now generals.⁸ All this caricature, as always, must have contained a certain amount of truth, above all it

¹ P 441ff² P 270, 648, adesp. 61; cf K 852 — K.316f³ C 1065f. The scholiast's explanation is doubtful, perhaps Aristophanes simply alluded to political corruption. Cf the evidence below, p. 125⁴ B 798ff, cf Thuc VII, 29, 1, VIII, 64, 2⁵ προβατοκόπηλος, adesp. 62.⁶ Eupolis 117, 4f⁷ K.254, cf frg 696⁸ Eupolis 205

put upon a board, and the cheese-seller who, with his scales, was the very type of retailer.¹ Furthermore, we hear of cake-sellers, drug-sellers, sellers of purgatives, incense or myrrh, crests, figs, books, garlic, poultry, sacred bands, needles and coal.² By way of a supplement to all these specialists was the business of the 'general dealers' who sold all kinds of small goods; they were a type of huckster or pedlar, perhaps identical with the re-retailers.³ The people of Aigina, who were a sort of inter-Hellenic retailers, were called 'general dealers'.⁴

Once again, the true facts of economic life are both exaggerated and confirmed in comedy. Possibly specialization did not go quite so far as is suggested by the professions mentioned, even in a few of those passages the same person sells more than one commodity. Some doubt may be justified about the comic medley in such a list as that given by Nikophon, one of the later poets of Old Comedy. 'Sellers of sardines, coal, figs, leather, flour, small spoons, books, sieves, cakes, and seeds',⁵ though most of these occupations are also mentioned elsewhere. The same sense of comic distortion is shown when the priests of Amphiaraios are called drug-sellers, or the mother of the mythical hero Meleager is said to have in her house the box of a Megarian drug-seller, or the Delphic Apollo is called a laurel-seller.⁶ One of the parasites, expelled from Cloud-cuckooborough, was even a seller of public decrees.⁷ The 'theatre-seller' probably corresponded to no real occupation, but he may have been a man who early in the day bought up

¹ K 853 — A 818, frg 578 — B 13f — K 854, F 1369, cf adesp 722

² frg 256, 265, adesp 372 — C 766, Ameips 27 — frg 265 — E 841, frg 807, 821ff, Pherekr 64, 1, Theop 1, 16, adesp 372, 951 — frg 812 — Pherekr 4 — Aristom 9, Theop 77 — Kratinos 48, Hermipp 13 — Phryn 13 — Eupolis 243 — Pl 175 — Philyll. 14

³ παντοπωλῆαι, Archipp 31 — παλινγκάπηλοι, Pl 1156 See also Plate IIIb

⁴ Schol Pind O 8, 29

⁵ Nikophon 19

⁶ frg 28, Theop 2, frg 764

⁷ B.1035ff. C N Jackson has dealt with the decree-seller (*Harvard Stud in Cl Phil* XXX, 1919, 89ff) He explains him as one of the professional and corrupt politicians who might 'move, alter and misinterpret laws for the benefit of particular clients', unlawfully appropriate public property, etc I do not think Mr Jackson has proved his case. The scene in the *Birds* shows that the ψηφισματοπώλης does nothing but provide texts for all sorts of decrees It is just possible that a man might earn his living by helping ordinary citizens when they wished to move a bill But it is more likely that Aristophanes invented the character to make fun of the Athenian love of decree-making

good seats in the theatre and afterwards re-sold them; there were bad seats, partly outside the theatre, where you could hear but not see.¹ Actually, it does not matter whether every something-seller of comedy had his counterpart in reality. Specialization in trade clearly existed.

The long list drawn from comedy can easily be extended from other sources, but they add nothing of importance.² The fact that all the names of these different occupations are formed in the same way, all with the suffix '-seller', proves that buying and selling played a large part in the economic life of the people, and that usually the producer and the seller were the same person.³ It is important to assess the social circumstances of this type of trader. We must assume that not all those something-sellers were in quite the same stage of economic development. The perfume-seller and -producer, for instance, was clearly distinguished from the *kapelos* who was said to be on a lower level.⁴ We must ask what exactly were the activities of all these men and women selling things. Above all, we shall have to find out whether they sold their products only to the consumer, or whether there was, at least in some branches, what has been called 'a well-developed class of intermediate traders', a 'pre-seller', for instance, or a re-retailer. This latter name was given as a comic title of honour to the god of tradesmen, Hermes Empolaïos, but also to the Phoenician merchant who 'gave with one hand and took with the other'.⁵ He, however, was a sea-trader, an *emporos*, according to the Greek terminology, though only an intermediary one.

We begin with the interpretation of a scene, in which the salesman is apparently not the producer, the scene in which the various merchants of arms allege that they have been reduced to bankruptcy by the peacemaker Trygaios.⁷ The several branches of this kind of trade are specifically distinguished, probably not because the poet wished to represent

¹ frg 562 — Kratinos 339

² Cf the enumeration in Heichelheim, 346, 1042.

³ Cf Plates Vc, X

⁴ Lysias, frg 38, 5

⁵ Hasebroek, *Staat u Handel*, 5. Here I quote the German original, as the translation of the sentence concerned in the English edition is not quite exact. προπώλης, frg 707. For the παλιγκάπηλος see the following sentence in the text.

⁶ Pl 1155f, cf A 816 — adesph 397

⁷ P 1210ff

real facts, but only to show the great number of war-profiteers. Elsewhere, however, one man is declared to be both a 'lyre-turner' and a 'shield-maker', and a corslet-maker is also mentioned by Xenophon, a spear-maker by Euripides.¹ In that scene we are told of the makers (or sellers) of crests, spears, corslets, trumpets and helmets.² The spokesman for all these was a merchant of arms. He was not, as the manuscripts indicate, the same as the maker of crests; for this man as well as the spear-maker is mentioned by the speaker himself.³ He was, as also the list of the *dramatis personae* in the codices puts it, a 'retailer of arms', a *kapelos* like the retailer of shields.⁴ He himself had spent a great deal on corslet, trumpet and helmet.⁵ Therefore he asks back from Trygaios at least the money they have cost.⁶ He says that both his craft and his livelihood have vanished with the peace, but the expressions he uses, which are applied also to the makers of crests and spears, do not disprove that he was a merchant rather than an artisan.⁷ Can we assume, however, that all the manufacturers of arms had some sort of organization for selling their products? I do not think we are justified in taking the poet literally on this point, especially as the wording of the dialogues implies craftsmen who act on their own, and in another scene no difference is made between the spear-maker and the shield-retailer, who are anxious to market their wares.⁸ I am convinced that all these specialized armourers themselves sold their own goods. The form of the scene is clearly determined by the dramaturgic necessity of having a single spokesman. From the economic aspect it is an entirely unreal picture, and it would be wrong to draw general conclusions from this scene, or to press the wording unduly.⁹

¹ B 491, Xen *mem* III, 10, 9, Eur *Ba* 1208

² P 1211, 1213, 1258, cf 447, 549, 1224, 1240, 1255

³ P 1213, cf 545

⁴ P 1209, cf 447

⁵ P 1224, 1241, 1251

⁶ ἰσωνία, P 1227

⁷ ἀπώλεσάς μου τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὸν βίον, P 1212 Cf the τέχνη of the man who sells onions (P1 160, 167)

⁸ P 447ff

⁹ It is also not quite certain whether hoe- and sickle-maker on the one hand, sword- and spear-maker on the other, represented quite distinct occupations (P 547ff). Perhaps the contrast was meant only to demonstrate the contrary economic effects of war and peace. However, the sickle-maker in P 1197ff must be taken into account.



a



b

TRADERS AND CRAFTSMEN



a



b

WOMEN WORKERS

When the most important occupations are mentioned together in comedy, it is usual to distinguish between merchant and craftsman¹. But the greengrocer is included among various craftsmen, cobbler, smith and carpenter, all of them representing a certain craft.² In the list of townspeople who have to get up early because of their work, some craftsmen are mentioned as well as the flour-seller³. We find the coal-seller in the company of the confectioner, the gardener and the barber⁴. In war-time, unrest in the town was caused partly by military measures, partly by the special intensity of economic life, by the extra work to be done by craftsmen, merchants and ship-builders.⁵ All these references show clearly that there was no strict line of demarcation between handicraft and retail trade. The *ergasterion*, the workshop, was nearly always the shop or place of sale as well.

The implication of comedy is quite clear; it even proves something incidentally, something which will be confirmed when we look for other types of craft mentioned in comedy. Hyperbolos is said to sell his lamps in *skaphai*.⁶ The word is ambiguous; it may mean 'ships', and the conclusion has been drawn that he sold his goods as an *emporos*, sailing from place to place, probably on his own ship⁷. But we cannot argue positively from so weak a basis, for *skaphe* may just as well, and more often does, mean a tray or bowl, so the whole phrase will be nothing but a pun. It is more likely that the comedian wished to depict Hyperbolos, who could be called a lamp-seller as well as a lamp-maker, as a *kapelos* who made and sold lamps,⁸ even displaying them like a huckster on a tray which possibly had a boat-like appearance. Retailers of a similar kind were certainly the producers of the common-clay lamps, the sale of which was widespread in the market.⁹ Even Hyperbolos, who is said by another source to have made metal lamps, was sometimes simply called a 'potter'.¹⁰

The same connection between production and direct sale to the consumer is shown when Kleon sells his bad leather not to a shoemaker, but to a peasant¹¹. The myrrh-maker was the myrrh-seller as well, and the *jeunesse dorée* loitering about in

¹ P 296ff, cf Pl 904f

² τέχνη. Pl 160ff

³ B 489ff

⁴ Philyll 14

⁵ A 544ff

⁶ K 1315.

⁷ Hasebroek, 14

⁸ K 739, P 690

⁹ Hermipp 28, Plat. 190, also Kratinos 196

¹⁰ Schol C 1065 — Eupolis 21 D, schol K 1304.

¹¹ K 316f

the myrrh-market certainly wasted their time at the spot where the perfumes were both produced and sold.¹ It was the same at the barber's and saddler's.² The circumstances are not very different from those of all small independent craftsmen throughout the ages, who sell the goods they themselves produce in their workshops.³ Such a type is the bronze-founder who has plenty of identical or similar statues in his workshop.⁴ From the smith's, who is elsewhere depicted as toiling away in smoke and heat, one might buy a mascot, probably a clay figure, which he had hung over his furnace.⁵ The fuller sold warm coats.⁶ The soldier's widow who platted wreaths for religious worship and drinking-parties alike had to sell them herself in the market.⁷ In the monody in which Aischylos derides the realism of Euripides, even a woman rich enough to own several slave-girls goes herself to the market to sell what she has spun.⁸ Thus even what the housewife had formerly produced for the use of her own household only, was drawn into the process of general trade.⁹

The breadshop was at the same time the bakery where the baking-pans stood, where the making or turning of the loaves was done, and where, perhaps, the slaves, kneading the dough, wore round their necks the *pauskafe*, a big collar to prevent them from putting anything in their mouths.¹⁰ Lazy and sensual Dionysos regarded the breadshop as one of the necessary incidents of a journey, like the road, the spring, the inn and the brothel.¹¹ Most likely it was in a bakery that people got the toasted bread and pancakes which 'hiss when honey is dripped on them.'¹² Frequently in comedy women are mentioned who went round selling bread. But this does not disprove that there were also bakers' shops. The woman

¹ Lysias, frg 38, 2, 5 — K 1375ff, Pherekr 2, 64, Eupolis 209

² Lysias XXIV, 20

³ See Plate Xb.

⁴ Lysias, frg 32

⁵ frg 592 — adesp 443. It is, however, unlikely that a smith was normally prepared to sell his Hephaistos or whatever deity he had hung up, this is no ordinary case of buying and selling, but as we do not know the context, we cannot say what it really meant.

⁶ E 415ff

⁷ Th 446ff

⁸ F 1346ff

⁹ Wade-Gery reminds me of II XII, 433ff. But the γυνή χερσῶντις ἀληθής who works for the 'scanty pittance' of her children certainly belongs to different social conditions.

¹⁰ frg 1, 125, 155 — frg 313, 748, Phryn 27. See Plate XIb — frg 301-2

¹¹ F.112ff

¹² Magnes I, Kratinos 125, cf adesp 852

who is called a bread-seller and, at the same time, owned a big and heavy *holmos*, a kneading-trough, was both baker and dealer in bread.¹ Other women were more or less vagrant saleswomen, and represented some sort of small intermediate trade; but as they sold the bread baked in pans while it was still hot, they also took part, to some extent, in the process of production.²

Spinning and weaving was the work of women and girls at home, and was provided for even in the communist State.³ The difficult process of cleaning the wool was also often the housewife's business, for unfulled wool was sometimes used.⁴ But there was also the wool-seller who often sold his goods when still wet and so heavier.⁵ This use of women's labour, the work of those 'who spin with their hands the softest cloth',⁶ was a relic from the self-contained economy of the *oikos*. Although the material was, as a rule, handed over for further treatment to skilled workmen and to specialized makers of various kinds of garments,⁷ belief in the so-called process of 'industrialization' is a modern error, as far as this and other branches of production are concerned, though the fact that part of the women's home-production was sold in the market makes it clear that even in this most persistent branch of home-industry the days of *oikos*-economy were past and gone.

The potters, who contributed particularly to the glory of Athens, even down to the time of Aristophanes which saw in general a decline in vase-painting, were both producers and retailers of their wares.⁸ They 'turned the potter's clay', producing their pottery 'at home'.⁹ The vases were made by both potter and painter in the same workshop; sometimes the same

¹ W 238 I wonder whether the ὄλμος in the house of Bdelykleon (W 201) was a kneading-trough, or rather some sort of mortar, such as L R Palmer, *Eranos* XLIV (1946), 54f, has found as the type used in the simile *II* XI, 147, and indicated in Hesiod, *Erga* 423

² frg 125.

³ L 735ff, Th 821ff, Hermipp 2 — E 654.

⁴ L 574ff, E 215ff — Plat 18 D See Plate XIa

⁵ F 1386f

⁶ Eupolis 319

⁷ Pl 513, frg 54 — Xen *mem* II, 7, 6

⁸ This is indicated by E 1f, 252, frg 469 — Athena was the patron of the potters and therefore appears in some of the pictures of a potter's shop. It is for this reason that Peithetairos and Euelpides could protect themselves with pottery against Athena's bird, the owl (B 358).

⁹ Sannyrion 4, Phryn 15 See Plate XIIa.

man 'made' and 'painted' a vase'. In many workshops a number of men and boys, sometimes even a woman, were engaged as potters and painters. It could happen, though comparatively rarely in the manufacture of ordinary ware, that two men shared in the painting. Some of the painters worked for different potters. Many of them specialized in certain types or a certain technique, and we may assume that some of the potters did so as well.² 'Potters' wealth' meant uncertain property, an allusion, of course, to the fragile earthenware which the potter kept in store, and tried to sell to customer or *emporos*.³

Many artisans' shops will have been as small and modest as the 'art' of the invalid who fought for the small public allowance of one obol a day, because, as he said, he could not afford a workman, which apparently means a slave.⁴ Probably an example of such a small workshop, in which the artisan worked alone, was the *ergasterion* from which the sausage-seller, when a boy, stole a saucepan from the fire.⁵ It is certainly worth noticing that in comedy, though slaves are mentioned so frequently, we never hear of them as industrial workers in a large business. The only occasional exception are the mine-workers; but even in the mines of Laureion the individual owner had an *ergasterion* and a small *metallon*, a little mine, of his own.⁶ Furthermore, in the communist State of the future, depicted in the *Ekklesiastousai*, there is no provision for industrial pur-

² The main evidence comes from the signatures on many vases (ἔποίησεν, ἔγραφσεν), it is confirmed by some vase-paintings. Cf, e.g., G. Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery*, fig. 58, 66. A full discussion, on which the following sentences in my text are based, is now found in J. D. Beazley, *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens* (*Proceedings of the Brit. Academy*, XXX).

³ Painter of λήκυθοι. E 996. Beazley, 42, calls for a full study from the point of view of the potters.

⁴ adesp. 749. Cf. Cloché 50. The purchaser at the potter's — it was the potter, not the painter, who owned the shop — was the consumer, as far as local sale was concerned. The trader came into operation for the big overseas business, there were probably also foreign purchasers. The general statement of Rumpf (*Gnomon*, 1938, 450) that only the trader bought at the potter's shop must be limited in that sense.

⁵ Lysias XXIV, 6, 19f.

⁶ K 744f. The translation in the Collection Budé. '*en flânant au sortir de ma boutique*', is hardly right, as the sausage-seller will not have owned an *ergasterion*; ἀπ' ἐργαστηρίου depends on ὑφειλόμεν.

⁷ frg. 789 — IG II², 1582ff, Isaios III, 22.

general sense.¹ Here again, the normal business was on a small scale, the *cheirotechnes* poor and without capital, often even without a house of his own and living in hired rooms.² In times of war at least, workmen might even go to another city to help in some urgent building work.³ Such conditions brought artisan and tradesman close together. Usually they were one and the same person, and if not, at least they stood on the same social level.

Even the peasant, the Attic as well as the Boeotian or Megarian peasant, sold his products himself in the market of Athens, and afterwards made his own small purchases.⁴ The vine-dresser naturally sold to the consumer or to the inn-keeper. Frequently he may have sold his wine straight from the press, just as the olives, or the oil produced from them, were sold either on the spot in the olive-orchard or in the market.⁵ Cattle were often sold direct to the household, therefore the *mageiros* was both cook and butcher, and he had to know how to detect possible diseases in the cattle.⁶ For the poorer townspeople, however, there must have been some retail trade in meat. The greengrocers, usually women, as a rule sold the products of their own garden and fields; it is said as a joke that Euripides grew up 'among the herbs of the field', as if his mother did not even sell garden products.⁷ A peasant or a gardener coming to town may have sold some of his neighbour's fruit as well, but that did not make any essential difference in the nature of this kind of trade which was everywhere on a small scale, and consisted in the producer selling his own products.

Not quite the same is true of the fish-trade.⁸ It can be shown by a very large number of passages from comedy that fish was,

¹ P.305 Cf. the combination of specialization and team-work in the Erechtheion inscriptions (*IG* I², 373-4)

² Pl 533f, 615ff — Xen *symp* 4, 4.

³ Thuc IV, 69, 2, V, 82, 6

⁴ W.169f, E 817ff — A 719ff, 818, 900.

⁵ Cloché, 81ff

⁶ A 1015, P 1017f — K 375f It is unintelligible why in Pherekr 64 the women boast that nobody had seen a *μογείραινα* or *ιχθυοπώλαινα*. As to the latter, the irony seems obvious, women fishmongers certainly existed. We may also believe that housewives and slave-girls not only cooked (there is no question about that), but also sometimes killed at least poultry (cf Pherekr 22)

⁷ W.497f, Th 387 — Th 456

⁸ Cf. Bohlen, *Die Bedeutung der Fischerei für die antike Wirtschaft* Diss Hamburg, 1937

next to bread, the chief food of the town population.¹ 'To be nourished by white-coloured sprats' was a characteristic of the Athenian, and only barbarians were called 'fishless'.² In a successful comedy the chorus composed of fishes fought the Athenians in order not to be eaten up.³ The wish uttered by Deukalion's wife after the deluge: 'Never again offer fish to me, even if I ask for it',⁴ was a good joke because, if expressed in earnest, it would have been incomprehensible to any Athenian. It was a vital matter to Athens that a certain kind of small fish, which came mostly from Phaleron, should be cheap.⁵ These as well as sprats were the most popular dish, while the dearer fish were left to buyers of a higher social standing and smelled of 'tyranny'.⁶ Some kind of a mixture of sea food, something like *frutti di mare*, made a very poor wedding-meal, while the cuttlefish was a modest delicacy.⁷

Obviously the Athenian market needed a large daily supply of fish, and it was therefore impossible for the Attic fishermen alone to satisfy it with their catch. There were traders who bought fish from fishermen all round the shores of Attica, and brought it to the market. Salted fish, too, frequently appeared in the market, a common but little-esteemed food, sold by different people and at different places from fresh fish.⁸ These dried salt fish naturally needed some time for their preparation between being caught and sold, and frequently they came from distant seas.⁹ People complained that fresh fish also were often several days old.¹⁰ The fish-market probably opened every day, and one might go there to change a drachma into small coin.¹¹ Fishing was a vocation which, apart from a boat and the necessary tools such as a net and a three-pronged spear,¹² required so much time and hard work, that the fishermen from the more

¹ e.g., K 283, Pl 894, frg 475, Kratinos 147, 161, Krates 17, Eupolis 38, 255, Hegemon 1

² frg 137 — frg 564-5, cf Eur frg 366

³ Archipp 14ff

⁴ Pherekr 120.

⁵ They were the ἀφύαι K 645, 671f, B 76, frg. 506-7, and elsewhere

⁶ Sprats (μειβράδες or βειβράδες) W 493ff, frg 137, Eupolis 28, Phryn. 50, Plat 123, Aristonym 2, 3, Aristomenes 7 — frg 52. — W 493ff, cf Kratinos 303, 1 Mazon

⁷ frg 247 — K 929

⁸ W 491f, frg 200, 686, Aristom. 6 — K 1247.

⁹ Kratinos 40, Eupolis 186

¹⁰ frg 387, 8f

¹¹ W 788f. Or does this only occur, because the man gave to the teller of the story, instead of the three obols he owed, three fish-scales?

¹² Epilykos 1 D.

distant coastal villages, or even from the Peiraeus, only went to market occasionally, as a rule when they wanted to buy for themselves. On such occasions they brought their catch with them, and one might easily happen to meet them selling their fish *en route*.¹ Fishermen are also depicted thus on Attic vases (see Plate XIIb, c).² The catching of certain fish required special skill and organization, there were, for instance, official tunny-watchers.³ With freshwater fish matters were different. The Boeotian eels, in Athens a highly esteemed delicacy, were brought to market by the fishermen themselves.⁴

Quite a number of people were engaged in overseas trade. There must have been a proper organization in a few branches, in the buying and selling, for instance, of pottery and oil;⁵ but an official arrangement was made only for the corn-trade which more than anything else was of vital importance to Athens.⁶ Here we need not concern ourselves with the various laws on this matter, but it is important to know that the corn-traders, the *sitopolai*, who, surprisingly enough, are never mentioned in comedy, formed an organized group, superintended by special officials, the *sitophylakes*. These traders bought the corn from the *emporoi* who could be called real 'corn-lovers', and between the two groups bitter economic quarrels occurred.⁷ It is significant of the organization of the corn-traders that they arranged for a common price-policy such as we cannot suppose to have existed in any other branch of trade. To prevent speculation no *sitopoles* was allowed to buy up more than fifty 'baskets' of grain.⁸ In the speech of Lysias just referred to the corn-traders are described as swindlers and extortioners. It seems almost certain that the impression given by that speech is misleading, and that, on the whole, they were quite honest merchants. At any rate, they formed a unique and most important group of middlemen.

¹ Plat 29

² Cf also, e.g., H. Schaal, *Vom Tauschhandel zum Welthandel*, pl 21 Cloché, pl. XXXVI, XXXVIII, 2

³ K. 313; cf Strabo V, 223, 225, XVIII, 834

⁴ A 88off, 962, K. 864ff, L 36, 700ff, frg 363-4, 499, Strattus 44

⁵ New and striking evidence of the size and importance of the trade in Attic pottery is given by the excavations at Al-Mina, cf L. Woolley, *JHS* 58 (1938), 1ff, 133ff

⁶ Cf Heichelheim, *P-W* Suppl. VI, 833ff

⁷ Xen. *olk.* 20, 27 — Lysias XXII

⁸ Lysias XXII, 5 For the *φορμός* of wheat cf also Th 813

We see that there were intermediary traders, but only in some cases, and even then mostly of limited importance.¹ In general, it remains true that producer and salesman were one and the same person. Because of this, the market became the centre of both trade and craftsmanship, and therefore the place where one could hope to find every sort of work.² This co-ordination between production and sale, both of which were types of business on a purely monetary basis, made the market an organized unit, where a widely specialized trade found safe and convenient accommodation. State officials such as the *agoranomoi* had the power of suppressing all disturbances and safeguarding honest trade.³ On the other hand, everybody knew where to go in order to get what he wanted, even though this might mean only gossip.⁴ The hall where flour was sold was one of the chief places in the market because of the importance of that trade.⁵ The same observations are valid for the various quarters of the market as for the occupations referred to above: the comedians exaggerate the specialization, but it existed nevertheless. Eupolis mentions stalls with garlic, onions, incense, perfume, frippery and books.⁶ Of course, garlic and onions are hardly likely to have been sold at different stalls, but on the whole the specialization and distribution was as Eupolis implies. Differing in its production and goods, each part of the market, each little street in the neighbourhood, had its own character, and we may include here the tanners' quarter which, because of its bad smell, was situated outside the town, and also the brothel streets, which were not confined to the market district.⁷ Perhaps the 'packed body' of traders in leather, honey and cheese, who were said to be Kleon's chief supporters, had their stalls near the flour market; they would

¹ Cf, e.g., Francotte, I, 299 '*Dans une société où l'industrie n'a pas dépassé le métier, le producteur et le consommateur sont déjà distincts, mais ils ne sont pas encore séparés par de nombreux intermédiaires comme dans les sociétés plus avancées*'

² Ameips 1. Because of the business character of the normal *agora*, we find sometimes a second (or rather first) market place, an ἀγορὰ ἐλευθέρα, as the true centre of an ideal city, where no buying and selling was allowed (Xen. *Kyrop.* I, 2, 3, Aristotle, *pol.* 1331 a, 30ff)

³ A 723, 824f, 968, W. 1406ff

⁴ Xen. *oik.* 8, 22, Lysias XXIV, 20.

⁵ E 686. — K 857

⁶ Eupolis 304. Cf also Pherekr. 186.

⁷ A 724 and schol. — K 137 and schol., 857, 1375, W 789, P 165, B. 13, L 407, 557f, Th 448, F. 1068, E 302, Pl 338, frg 299, Kratinos 196. Cf also Lysias XXIII, 6.

thus easily be able to stop the sale of flour¹ Some retailers, whose shops were not specialized, were apparently to be found in various quarters of the town.²

To a large extent intellectual output followed the same economic tendencies as retail trade. To Aristophanes medical treatment, it is true, was not a *technē* in the ordinary sense, but something that was taught to mankind by true poets in the same way as morality, honour and bravery, or, on the other hand, farming.³ He loathed the various 'sophists', the prophets, physicians, thinkers, rhapsodes, astronomers and others, because all these specialists earned money by their art.⁴ Without accepting the comic poet's view of them we can discover their economic standing. Among the hateful individuals who rushed into the newly founded Clouduckooborough were several of this kind, for example the poet and chorus-trainer Kinesias, who was famous among the tribes.⁵ It shows a peculiar inconsequence on the part of the poet that he derides another chorus-trainer, Kallimachos, as well as the painter Pauson, merely because of their poverty.⁶ The physicians in particular had the reputation of running after money.⁷ Euripides describes his treatment of tragedy as if it were his patient: the doctor, by a special therapy, first causes the patient to lose flesh, and afterwards puts him on a special diet, the object, of course, being to keep him under treatment as long as possible.⁸ It is easily understood that people did not hurry to call in the doctor, and when a woman suffered from stomach-ache, her husband simply mixed some powder to relieve her.⁹ But if the patient died, the doctor ran the risk of being accused of carelessness.¹⁰

The members of the various intellectual professions — including, perhaps, the 'writer of books' — were more or less *kapeloi*.¹¹ There were some 'honest vocations', which Aristophanes approves of, besides his favourite, agriculture, and we

¹ K 852ff, 857

² Lysias, frg 38, 3.

³ F 1032ff

⁴ C 331ff, W 52 and elsewhere

⁵ B 1403f

⁶ E 809. — A 854, Th 949, Pl 602. The part which Pauson plays in the obscure lines of Eupolis 40 P, 5ff, remains unexplained, also in Jensen's treatment (*Abh. Preuss Ak* 1939, no 14, 6).

⁷ B 584, Pl. 407f

⁸ F 939ff

⁹ Th 483ff

¹⁰ Antiphon, *tetral* III, 2

¹¹ The βιβλιογράφος (*sic*, Kratinos 249) was a scribe rather than an author.

know that he was thinking of the *emporos* and the *technites*.¹ As we have seen, the latter were chiefly tradesmen. Economically they were interested in sale as much as in production. Little wonder that intellectual *technē* took the same line.

Such specialization in production and trade, far-reaching as it was, was possible only in a place where trade was extensive. Each single shop was small, but there were many of them, and so the business of the town as a whole was on a large scale. Production and sale were mostly combined, and as yet somewhat primitive. The workmen and retailers themselves were of a type similar to that of the average farmer. They were small people of the lower middle-class, *petit bourgeois* like all the others. In many cases the workshop or shop was probably hereditary; but we hear of a cutler who was the son of a cook or butcher.²

On the other hand, the intensity of economic life brought about a strong improvement in the methods of production. In the most varied branches of craftsmanship there arose the specialist and expert, a type which was to gain fundamental importance in the philosophy of Sokrates and Plato, but could do so only because he had gained importance in life. Economically this was of great consequence, and the predominance of Athenian craftsmanship and its extremely high artistic standard was partly due to the improvement in production. Improved quality, however, did not necessarily imply increased quantity. Production remained, on the whole, on a small scale, and when people became rich by bread-making or by manufacturing *chlamydes* or *chlamides* or *exomides* (all different sorts of clothes), it did not mean that they owned factories.³ The smallness of each shop is confirmed even by that passage of Xenophon (a *locus classicus* for the 'industrialization' of Greece), and also by various passages in comedy; for nobody who learns that 'the majority of the Megarians lived on making *exomides*' can believe that the bulk of Megarian citizens (not slaves) worked in large mills.⁴ There was no industry whatsoever — only craftsmanship. In spite of a few timid beginnings, the step from specialization to mechanization of labour was never taken,

¹ B 1432ff — P 296ff, Pl 902ff Cf, in general, above p. 85

² B 44of, frg. 394. For the hereditary character of specialized crafts cf A. Zimmern, *Solon and Croesus* (1928), 156

³ Xen *mem* II, 7, 6

⁴ A 519, P 1002 — Xen, *l.c.*

the expert never became a factory-worker, and specialization did not imply organized division of labour in large-scale production.¹ The whole process of intensification, however, did take place and was closely connected with the fact that a hitherto unknown economic spirit was growing and spreading among a great part of the population. Those small people, including the farmers, represented a uniform social type, and it was they who carried on production and retail trade

3

We know that the *emporos* played a great part in trade and industrial production. The question arises what position he held in social and economic life. To answer this question we must distinguish between home production and import, and discover the importance to Athens of import and export, both the concern of the *emporos*. Here, too, the evidence of comedy throws much light on the situation.

It is significant of the conditions in Athens during the first years of the Peloponnesian War that at that time goods, formerly supplied by the Attic countryside, became scarce and expensive. For the country was then devastated, and, to a large extent, abandoned by the peasants. Many of the necessities of daily life could not easily be supplied by sea-trade. Thus the farmer, accustomed to produce such things himself, had to buy, and certainly not at a cheap price, for instance coal, which in normal times was supplied by the charcoal-burners of the mountain demes near the town.² Vinegar, formerly extracted from the cheaper sorts of Attic wine, and even oil were scarce.³ There are many complaints about the lack of oil, which was necessary both for cooking and for anointing the body.⁴ Wine was one of the most important products of the country, although many better sorts were imported from various places abroad.⁵ The Attic farmer produced honey and figs, Attic sheep provided wool, and during the war woollen clothes were

¹ In Prof. Michell's book the chapter on industry deals exclusively with the various kinds of crafts

² Cf. the *Acharnians*, also Philyll. 14, Eur. *frg.* 283

³ A 34f

⁴ C 55f, W 251ff, Plat. 190, Strattis 45

⁵ Attic wine: A 183, P. 557, 596, 612, *frg.* 579. — Import from Chios, Thasos, Pramnós, etc. K 107, P 1162, L 196, E 1119, 1139, Pl 1021, *frg.* 317, 350, 531, 579. Kratinos 135, 370, Hermipp. 82, Eupolis 253, Phryn. 65, Strattis 61, Philyll. 24, Epilykos 6, *adesp.* 1278.

as scarce as shoe-leather, which was produced from the hides and skins of Attic cattle and goats.¹ Clay for pottery was found in Attic soil, silver and lead in the mines of Laureion, and salt came from the sea, but not, it seems, in sufficient quantity, since the Megarians used to bring it to the Athenian market, along with certain kinds of vegetables, pigs and hares.² This import was on rather a small scale, and when it was stopped, only 'trifles which we also have in our own country' were affected.³ The various delicacies from Boeotia were also of little general importance.⁴ Only oversea goods really counted as imports.

In the attempt to discover what these were, it would be a mistake to take as reliable proof of the place of origin all the apparent indications of provenance.⁵ 'Persian bird' was the name of the ordinary Greek cock, and the *Persikai*, a certain kind of elegant ladies' shoe, were made by Greek shoemakers.⁶ So, too, the Laconian shoes mentioned frequently as usually worn by most Athenians and perhaps similar to the so-called *Amyklades*, from Laconian Amyklai, were men's shoes, shaped in the fashion of Spartan shoes, but certainly made at Athens.⁷ We may assume that the description 'made in Athens' was also correct for a kind of women's shoe called Argive.⁸ I doubt whether the Laconian and Chian cups, or the elaborate keys, called Laconians, actually came from Sparta or Chios.⁹ The Amorgan chitons had once, perhaps, been the fashion in the island of Amorgos, or they were called after a certain plant; but for a long time past they had come to mean some kind of transparent clothes made by Athenian women.¹⁰ Equally the

¹ P 252ff — W 297ff, P 558, 597, 628f — L 574ff, F 1386 — K 870, 881f

² A 901f, cf schol. L 2 — E 814 — A.520ff, 760, P 999ff

³ σμικρὰ κατ'ἰχώρια, A 523

⁴ A 873ff, K 479f, P 1003ff, cf also W.508ff Boeotian eels see above, p 132.

⁵ The collections of Knorrunga are insufficient and misleading in this as in other respects

⁶ B 485, 707, Kratinos 259 — C 151, L 229f, Th 734, E 319

⁷ W.1158ff, Th 142, 423, E.74, 269, 345, 508, 542 — frg. 44 D, Phryn. 5 D, cf Hesych, s v It is perhaps worth mentioning that Knorrunga, 57f, has concluded that about 400 B C Sparta was noted for the export of shoes!

⁸ Eupolis 266

⁹ frg 216, Hermipp 55 — Th 423 Frequently such a name indicated the origin of the shape only of a vase, cf. A Rumpf, *Chalkid Vasen*, 45, cf 123

¹⁰ L 150, 735ff, Kratinos 96, Eupolis 241. — Amorgan origin schol. L 150 — Transparent clothes Poll VII, 74 — The same is probably to be said of the

names of various kinds of food do not reveal their provenance 'Large dirty loaves of bread' were called 'Kilikian'; neither did Laconian figs come from Sparta nor Kydonian apples, that is quinces, from Crete.¹ Certainly, Sicilian cheese, though it was 'Sicily's pride', was not always made there, in the same way not all of our Swiss or Dutch cheese comes from Switzerland or Holland. It seems certain that the Sicilian cheese which the dog stole from the kitchen was freshly made.²

However, it is true that Athens received goods from almost all parts of the producing world.³ Among the products, the import of which was of general importance, Aristophanes mentions silphium, which was a favourite spice; Kleon's order to lower its price was very popular.⁴ Similarly the import of salted fish was essential for the poorer people.⁵ Other articles imported in peace-time, besides the various sorts of food from Megara and Boeotia, were, wine and fish of better quality, scallops from Mytilene, almonds from Naxos, Milesian, Phrygian or Persian, also Sicilian or Cyprian wool, covers and curtains, the wood (or fruit?) of the cedar, used in sacrifices, Egyptian ointments, Rhodian perfume, *olisboi* from Miletus, purple dye from Sardes, beans from Lemnos(?)⁶ Foreign slaves also had to be imported, the Thessalian *emporoi* dealing in slaves have already been mentioned.⁷ Horses of well-known breed, such as the luxurious nobles demanded, were the Boukephaloi which came from Thessaly, and there were others the provenance of which was indicated by a branded initial.⁸

'Egyptian' linen clothes (Poll VII, 71) ἡμιτύβιον (Pl. 729) and ἡμιφασώνιον (frg 784) or φώσων (Kratinos 250), and of some other articles of dress which were called Cretan or Syrian, Thessalian or Laconian (Th 730, Kratinos 207, Eupolis 311, Lysipp 2, Theop. 10) Or is one to imagine the Athena of Pheidias who had 'Tyrrhenian' sandals (Kratinos 131) as wearing imported shoes?

¹ Plat 86 — frg 108, Kantharos 6

² adesp 786 — W. 837f, cf 924, adesp 880

³ frg 569, Hermipp 63, Ps-Xen II, 7, Thuc II, 38, 2

⁴ K. 894f, B 533f, Pl 924f — See Plate Xa

⁵ Eupolis 186

⁶ Wine. see p 136, n 5 Fish K 361, frg. 363-4, Theop 51 Scallops Philyl 13 Almonds Eupolis 253, Phryn. 68 Wool, covers, etc W 1137, B 493, L 729, F 542, 938, frg 611, adesp 534; cf also the 'barbarian', i.e. oriental tapestries in Eur *Ion* 1159 Cedar adesp 34 Ointments frg 206 Perfume, L 944. ὀλισβοί L. 109f Purple A 112, P 1174 Beans frg 356

⁷ Pl 520f

⁸ C. 15ff — frg 41, 492 — There were the κοππατικά (C 23, 438, frg 42), which were considered Corinthian because of the ρ, and the σαμφόροι (K 602,

cheap sale. Aristophanes shows the need to many citizens of these grain-distributions, and in court they were used to exert pressure on the judges.¹ Much corn came from the Black Sea or Egypt, some also from Sicily, but Euboea was no less important.² In times of emergency, of course, this import was even more urgent. Thus the chorus of the cargo-ships in the *Holkades*, performed in 423 B.C., boasts of all their transport to Athens. Besides other foodstuffs, all kinds of grain, flour and bread are especially mentioned.³ The *emporoi*, who carried on the work, were Athenians, and it was only to Athenian *emporoi* that the Bosphorian kings gave permission to export corn from their country.⁴

The great quantity of imports brought to Athens was paid for chiefly by the Attic silver money from the mines at Laureion. Its high quality caused it to be the most widespread currency even outside the Greek world. 'The men carrying that money carried good trade'.⁵ The fact that Athenian silver coinage reached all parts of the world is perhaps indicated by a comic invention when Theseus is said to have changed Charon's fee into the typically Athenian 'two obols'.⁶ Besides, there was the tribute of the allies, and the Peiraeus and its trade. Political power forced all grain ships of empire States to put in there, even in transit, and to bring two-thirds of their cargo to Athens,⁷ this law, introduced probably during the Peloponnesian War, provided Athens with the necessary corn as well as large harbour-dues. Aristophanes probably exaggerates the total of the Athenian revenues when in 422 he says they were about 2000 talents, but at any rate they were very high during the first part of the Peloponnesian War.⁸ Export trade, too, was on a considerable scale. 'Sprats and clay', which means fish and pottery, were important articles of export, and pottery included the contents of the vases: wine and, even more, oil.⁹ Pottery was, however, an article of export in itself, a product of Athenian art, like metal shields and other fine work. During

¹ K 1101, 1359f

² W 715ff; cf Thuc VII, 28, 1, VIII, 1, 3, 4, 1, 95, 2, 96, 1f

³ frg. 412-22

⁴ Isokr XVII, 57

⁵ F 721ff — Xen. *Poroi* 3, 2

⁶ F 140ff — For the general use of Athenian coins, cf Gomme, 46f

⁷ Aristotle, *Ath pol.* 51, 4.

⁸ W 656ff, cf Xen *anab.* VII, 1, 27

⁹ A 901f.

the war it was quite a common allegation against a man that he had exported as contraband various material needed to equip ships.¹ In peace-time, therefore, those things formed part of the regular export trade, as well as wool and occasionally marble. On the whole, Athenian export trade included both agrarian and industrial products, and it is hardly possible to decide which predominated. On the Corinthian pinakes of the sixth century the chief economic activities depicted are mining of ore, making of pottery and sea trade (see Plate XIII)² We must add agriculture (which in Corinth was comparatively neglected) in order to form a true picture of Athenian economic conditions in the fifth century.

Harbour dues on imports and exports amounted to a large sum.³ They must have been a considerable burden on the *emporoi*, and the collectors of customs duties were much disliked, as we have seen, both at the Peiraeus and at the Bosphorus where they collected the tithes.⁴ We do not know the exact ratio of export, import and transit duties, but doubtless those on imports were the highest. The balance of trade was certainly not favourable according to the modern view of trade policy. Athens felt this, when the tribute was no longer paid and the mines at Laureion, especially during the Dekeleian War, had a lower output, but she never aimed at economic self-sufficiency, and neither in peace nor in war did the idea ever occur to the Athenians of protecting Attic production against imports from abroad. If, as has recently been emphasized, the State did not encourage trade, it certainly was still less likely to restrict it in favour of Attic products. We have said before that, despite the lack of government measures, trade even supported agriculture. There were two chief motives in public economy, as it had been conceived for some

¹ K 278f, F.362ff ἐξάγειν ταῖσι Πελοποννησίων τριήρεσι ζωμέματα, thus Kleon reproaches the sausage-seller. The 'soups' are, of course, a joke appropriate to the opponent, ζωμέματα replacing ζυγώματα (van Leeuwen).

² Cf. *Antike Denkmäler*, I, II. It is, however, possible that the scene in Plate XIIIa depicts the digging of clay and not the mining of ore.

³ It seems possible that there were duties on ships and passengers as well as on goods, ἐλλιμένα (cf. Eupolis 48) καὶ ἐμπορικά (Poll. VIII, 132), on the other hand, we do not know of any other duty levied at the Peiraeus except the ἐκαστοστή (Ps.-Xen. I, 17) which later became a πεντηκοστή (Andok. I, 133). Cf. Boeckh, I, 388ff. Andreades, 138, 5, 296, 5.

⁴ Cf. frg. 455

time past. one, to give the people all it needed, chiefly food, and the other, to gain by harbour dues public revenues as large as possible. What we are told sometimes about all the allies, namely that they could not exist without imports and exports,¹ was even truer for the State that ruled the sea and had the widest political and economic power of control

We learn from our survey that corn, wine, sulphur, certain articles of luxury, fish and slaves were the chief Athenian imports.² The list could be enlarged from other sources, but its character would be unaltered. Only some important raw materials should be added, such as timber and other wood, iron and bronze.³ The so-called 'industrial' production certainly supplied a large part of the export trade. It is nevertheless clear that the extent and intensity of Attic trade did not depend on the extent and intensity of 'industry'. Mass production was out of the question, because the requisite conditions of either production or sale did not exist. On the other hand, the smallness of the average workshop did not by any means prevent the general importance of trade.

The goods mentioned were dealt with by various people, some of whom dealt with their production or import, others with the sale to the consumers. Here we can speak of intermediary trade. The fishmonger made his purchases partly from the Attic fishermen, partly from the *emporoi*. The wine-seller was, in most cases, identical with the innkeeper, he bought Attic wine from the vine-dresser, imported wine from the *emporos*. Some of the articles of luxury and some delicacies may have been sold by the *kapelos*. In corn and flour, provided it was not taken over by the State, there doubtless existed intermediate trade between peasant or miller on the one hand, and baker or consumer on the other. The conditions of the slave trade were somewhat exceptional, certainly the *emporos* who traded in slaves not only brought them into the country, but sold them himself in the market. Timber and metals too may often have been sold directly by the *emporos* to the craftsman.

Taking all these facts together, we may say that some of the

¹ Ps.-Xen II, 3

² I do not think the characterization by Michell, 234, is to the point. He minimizes the importance of Athenian trade by regarding many of the imported goods as occasional curiosities only.

³ W 301, Xen. *hell* VI, I, 11, Ps.-Xen II, 11

emporoi sold to re-sellers. The so-called *deigma*, the bazaar building in the Peiraeus, apparently served this purpose. Here, during the *coup de main* of Teleutias in 387 B.C., some *emporoi* and *naukleroi* were taken prisoner.¹ Here the *emporoi* exhibited specimens of their goods while the cargo was still on board the ship; most of the purchasers were retailers or State officials. Aristophanes compares the *deigma* with the *helaina*, the 'bazaar of legal judgments'.²

It is clear that these *emporoi*, as compared with the *kapeloi*, were wholesale traders. But it would be a mistake to assume that all *emporoi* sold through middlemen. Almost all business, even overseas trade, was still on a comparatively small scale, and most of the *emporoi* sailed from port to port, selling their goods themselves. To repeat it once more: the outstanding difference between *kapelia* and *emporoi* was that between home and foreign trade, but there was no real social gap between them. Translations such as 'wholesale merchant' for *emporos*, 'shipping-magnate' (*Reeder*) for *naukleros*, 'grocer' (*Krämer*) for *kapelos*, are not only misleading because of their modern flavour, more than that, they hide the fact that there existed a single middle class, which we may divide into a higher and a lower section, but which nevertheless formed a social unit. It included not only the tradesmen, but craftsmen and farmers as well.³ Even the distinction between these groups was not absolute. The Attic farmer, it is true, did not normally go to sea in order to sell his wine and oil, as two centuries earlier Sappho's brother had done; but it is by no means impossible that occasionally the owner of a larger estate or workshop went on board a ship and sold his goods himself. There is no evidence for this, but even without this supposed mixture of vocations, all of them, the *emporoi* and *kapeloi*, the craftsmen and farmers, belonged to the same class.

Rich and poor, of course, formed something like two camps, no less in life than in comedy, and there was a wide difference of opinion concerning the two groups. Nevertheless, there was no 'class-struggle'; not all the wealthy outside the nobility

¹ Xen. *hell.* V, 1, 21, in Lysias, *frag.* 17, 6, the δειγμα is described as the place where a great many citizens and foreigners meet.

² K 979.

³ On this point I believe Hasebroek is entirely right.

⁴ Cf. Xen. *mem.* III, 7, 6, and above, pp. 80, 92f.

actually belonged to the upper class.¹ No suggestion is made of economic groups fighting each other, not even when, for whatever ridiculous reasons, the wealthy man was suspected of political intrigues and of aspiring to tyranny,² the reason was the distrust in which democracy held the traditional alliance of wealth and oligarchic policy. All economic differences were still subordinate to the political unity of democratic citizenship. Only in Aristophanes' *Ploutos* of 388 B.C. (and the late date is significant) do we find the poor waging war against the rich in full consciousness and with real hatred.³ Here we have clear evidence of a change in the social climate.

The difference, however, in social rank between *emporos* and *kapelos* is a fact, though it was hardly so general or so strict as the comic poets seem to indicate. An important psychological factor was, as we have emphasized before, that the ordinary citizen was in much closer touch with the *kapelos* than with the *emporos*, but the whole system of retail trade in market and streets was, in fact, looked upon with suspicion and as disreputable, even though we cannot altogether trust the evidence of comedy.⁴ On the other hand, it has rightly been emphasized how much sea-trade and banking, which were linked by the frequent use of loans, were based on the principles of honesty and good faith.⁵ From Solon's time more and more nobles had become *emporoi*, and some of the middle-class *emporoi* had found their way into the upper class. A *kapelos*, even if he did not 'stand behind the counter' any longer, or work in his own workshop, would never be called a *kaloskagathos*. It is, however, equally mistaken to assume that every owner of an *ergasterion* or every workman was more or less looked down upon. The distinction between 'banausic' professions and those carried on by 'liberally educated people', which was inherited from the period of aristocracy, had more importance in literature than in real life. Although it later became a general feature, in classical

¹ Class-struggle see, e.g., Murray, 70

² W 493ff

³ Cf Pl. 535ff, 594ff. See p. 69ff

⁴ This evidence is ample and well known. Cf, e.g., A 836ff, K 181, 333, 634ff, 1245ff, 1373, 1398ff, C 991, frg. 387, 471, also Eur. frg. 1114

⁵ Cf. Calhoun, *passim* — So much the more unfair (to put it mildly) was the action of the trustee who shared the risk of seaborne trade with his nephews and grandsons, but kept the lucky gain for himself (Lysias XXXII, 25)

times it concerned a small upper class rather than the people as a whole.¹

The sycophant despises trade and craftsmanship as well as agriculture.² But this should not be taken as proof of a general contempt for manual labour; it proves, indeed, the far-reaching equality which in the eyes of the public existed among all who earned their living by the work of their hands. The exceptional position of agriculture, largely due to the greater independence of the peasant, was also an inheritance from earlier aristocratic times, kept alive in later ages chiefly by literature. In spite of the social and political differences which, as we have seen, existed between the farmers and the townsfolk, the economic situation brought them together on more or less the same level. These facts are, perhaps, the final reason for believing in the unity of the social class formed by the preponderant part of the citizen body, farmers, tradesmen and artisans, and chiefly characterized by the sale of goods which they produced themselves, or by overseas trade. We have stressed the middle-class character of these men, but we must emphasize that there was among the citizens a class, or at least the remains of a class, above them, and none below. For the dregs of the populace, even the paid day-labourers, were — at least before the general impoverishment after the war — not so numerous that they could be counted as a distinct class.³ We have mentioned the poor, and we shall do so again, but it would distort the facts if we regarded them as a class by themselves. We may call the body of *petit bourgeois* the 'second estate' which, like the third estate of the French Revolution, was a unit in spite of all its differences in wealth and education; economically they were men, great and small, who lived on their earnings, not on property.⁴ The advocate Robespierre

¹ For that distinction cf., e.g., Xen. *mem.* II, 7, 4 *oik* 4, 2f. In general see Bolkestein, 191ff, and above p. 85ff.

² Pl 901ff.

³ This seems perhaps a sweeping statement, and I admit that it is open to misunderstanding. It is always a matter of personal opinion where to draw the line between the poorer people among the lower middle-class and 'the poor' as a kind of proletariat. I believe that it is misleading to speak of a proletariat in fifth-century Athens. But as there is no statistic evidence, full proof seems impossible either way. I try to justify my view not only in the following sentences, but also in various passages throughout the book, especially in chapter IX.

⁴ I have been reminded by one reviewer that 'earnings' could derive from

and *les dames des halles* stood at the extreme opposite ends, but they were of the same class. A deep social truth lies behind the juxtaposition on the same social level of the two scoundrels, the Paphlagonian who represented Kleon, and the sausage-seller who defeated him.¹

investment as well as from wages. That, of course, is true. But the 'investment' of the shopkeeper or even the *emporos*, who usually had hardly any working capital, was something fundamentally different from the investment of the few 'men of property' who owned estates or ships or mines. The shopkeeper and his like belonged to the same social class as the wage-earner.

¹ The class I have tried to describe under the catchword of *petits bourgeois* developed into the dominating *bourgeoisie* of the Hellenistic Age, which has been pictured in Rostovtzeff's work. See below, p. 371f.

CHAPTER VI

CITIZENS AND FOREIGNERS

HERMES was the god of trade. In comedy he is called *Empolaios*, 'engaged in traffic and commerce', and *Agoraios*, 'belonging to the market'.¹ He was, above all, the god of small tradesmen and hucksters, and so is derided as a 're-retailer'.² As *Dolios* and *Strophaios*, a deceitful and shifty god, he was the patron of all dubious methods of business.³ He was, however, more than the god of trade. We shall not take into account all his functions, important as they were: some of them are also mentioned in comedy, he is the god of herds and flocks, the doorkeeper, the god who shows the way, or the god of games.⁴ The part, however, which he plays in the *Peace* is of immediate relevance to our questions. The god from whom the chorus asks help is a god of peace, humane and bountiful, and when directing 'like a good craftsman' the work of excavating the goddess of Peace, he is thought of as the god of craftsmanship.⁵ The unity of the two sides of business life, which we have discussed in the preceding chapter, is personified in Hermes.

This god of the small tradesman and craftsman became the mouthpiece of a non-political material outlook. Hermes proclaims the eudaemonist idea of *ubi bene ibi patria*: 'A man's home is wherever he gets on.'⁶ Such sayings were not infrequent at that time.⁷ No doubt this outlook was largely the result of trading by sea, which brought experience of many countries, of the manners and life of the 'natives'.⁸ Equally strong, however, was the influence of a general change in the minds of many who directly or indirectly heard of views refuting the claims of the State against the individual, and pro-

¹ A 816, Pl 1155. — K 297

² παλιγκάπηλος, Pl 1156

³ Th 1202, Pl 1157, cf F. 1141ff — Pl 1154, frg 860; cf P 421ff

⁴ Th 977, F 1141ff, Pl 1154, 1159ff

⁵ P 389ff — δηιοουργικῶς, P 429

⁶ Pl 1151

⁷ frg 58 D, Lysias XXXI, 6, Eur frg 777, and elsewhere. In the same spirit of unpatriotic materialism the famous heroic line of Homer (*Il.* XII, 243) was modified to 'one omen is best, to fight for food' (Metagenes 18).

⁸ ἐπιχώριοι, F 461

claiming materialist well-being as the only real goal. The firm close texture of the Polis was becoming looser, its narrowness widening and many a man who found a new country to settle in could, like Herodotos, be called either after it or after his native town.¹ Sometimes he became homesick, and longed for his *patris*, but these feelings were a personal and sentimental affection rather than due to any political connection.²

We must bear these facts in mind when we now turn to the important question, which we have occasionally referred to already, the question of the economic status of 'political man'. We must discover first the part played in economic life, especially in trade and craftsmanship, by the citizens of the Polis on the one hand, and by foreigners and non-citizens on the other.

We have seen that the leading statesmen after Perikles were 'traders', 'something-sellers'.³ It is certain that comedy exaggerated, and included in this description, without distinction, men who had workshops which employed a number of slaves as well as retailers and hucksters. The real Kleon was so different from the sausage-seller who in comedy became his successor that the fun almost misses its point, and even the Paphlagonian was a drastic distortion of the real man. But apart from the moral distinction which is here irrelevant, we saw that they belonged, more or less, to the same social class. The real distinction between the two groups is not that they followed different vocations, but the simple difference of wealth and poverty. Hyperbolos owed his wealth to his lamps, Daitrephes to his flasks,⁴ and it goes without saying that to such men wealth gave an opportunity of intense political activity, whereas the small poor craftsmen had little time to spare for it. In spite, however, of a different standard of life, they were men of the same social and economic nature. They were chiefly engaged in the sale of their own products. Craftsmen and traders formed the majority of the townsfolk, and therefore the 'Man in the Street' as well as the political leader liked to use technical terms from their common activity in

¹ Eupolis 280

² adesp 379, 431 — Expressions of love for one's native land are frequent in tragedy. Apart from the various praises of Athens cf., e.g., Eur. *Med* 643ff, 846ff, *frg* 6

³ K.129ff, see above, p. 120f

⁴ K.1315, B.798ff

unless we see him for what he was, 'a man of the people' who drew ethical and logical conclusions from his surroundings. It was not Sokrates but the aristocrat Plato who in founding a new State based his social philosophy on contempt for the *banausos*, the manual worker.

It is, however, beyond dispute that many crafts and trades, *emporion* as well as *kapelia*, were carried on by foreigners, mostly by the resident metics. Among the retailers, for instance, there were many foreign women. We do not know how many of the female inn-keepers, huckstresses and hetaerae mentioned in comedy were foreigners, some probably were, though the hetaerae were usually slaves. Other sources, as for instance the well-known building-accounts of the Erechtheion, show that sometimes foreigners formed a larger or smaller majority among the craftsmen.¹ But the modern view that practically all trade, banking and craftsmanship were in the hands of metics is false at least for our period, and the identification of the metic and the *banausos* has rightly been challenged.²

Wealthy foreigners, Greeks and non-Greeks, many of them resident, were not infrequently seen in Athens, and many a metic owned a number of houses and slaves and plenty of cash, paying large sums in taxes and even taking on liturgies.³ Like Lysias they might put money, soldiers and weapons at the disposal of the democrats who were led by Thrasybulos.⁴ Aristophanes speaks of the Phrygian *nouveau riche*; he may have been a metic or some other kind of foreigner, perhaps one of the enfranchised slaves.⁵ They too quite frequently became rich and acquired the status of metics, Xenophon speaks of 'Lydians, Phrygians, Syrians, and other barbarians from every country, who formed a large section of the metics'.⁶

¹ *IG* I² 372ff, especially 374, II, 5ff — For potters and vase-painters cf G Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery*, 98ff (though not entirely convincing), also Beazley, *Potter and Painter*, 21ff. There can be no doubt that most of the potters were Athenians.

² Cf Hommel, *P-W* XV, 1433ff, 1449ff, with ample indications of modern literature.

³ ἐπίδημοι ξένοι, frg. 543 (in Meineke's and Kaibel's reading) — Lysias XII, 8, 10f, 18, 20.

⁴ Lysias, frg. 1, 165.

⁵ *W* 1309.

⁶ Aristomenes 16, cf Isaios, frg. 8 — Xen *Poroi* 2, 3 — Theagenes, according to schol. B 822, was περσῆς. If this means 'a man from Persia' (Liddell and Scott), the boastful fellow, whom the people called 'Smoke', was a Syrian.

Another Phrygian seems to have succeeded even in getting into an old Attic family, a *genos*.¹ Someone blackmailed a rich foreigner out of his money.² The Thirty even planned to have thirty metics put to death, simply in order to confiscate their property; the demos, on the other hand, enjoyed the 'petty suit' against a metic.³ Among those who 'filled their belly by means of their tongue', the well-paid teachers of rhetoric, there were foreigners, although we need not believe Aristophanes when he calls them barbarians.⁴ Gorgias and Philippos, both mentioned in that passage, were certainly Greeks, but at least Gorgias was not a metic. Paapis, whose cups Hyperbolos was said to have stolen, was, as his name shows, an Egyptian, probably a trader.⁵ Other Egyptians known to us by name are Hermias and Deinias; they were hellenized and perhaps metics, the former a fraudulent fishmonger, the latter a perfume-seller or perfume-lover.⁶ There were numerous Egyptians in Athens, they were conspicuous by their dark colouring, and a comic writer said 'If the sun burns you, it will turn you into an Egyptian.'⁷

These last references have brought us to the smaller and poorer people among the foreigners whom we also meet in comedy. The two hostesses, at whose inns Herakles put up in Hades, were metics.⁸ A woman who sold sacred bands was a Thracian, and so, according to comedy, was the mother of Kleophon.⁹ Hyperbolos' mother too was supposed to be a

¹ B.762f ² Eupolis 40 P, 65ff

³ Xen. *hell* II, 3, 21; 40 — K 347.

⁴ B 1694ff It was probably on account of the new-fangled artificiality of their language that they could be regarded as people who did not ἑλληνίζειν Cf H E Stier, *Grundlagen u Sinn d griech. Geschichte* (1945), 84

⁵ Leukon 1

⁶ Archipp 25, Strattis 33.

⁷ frg 569, 15 — adesp 9

⁸ F 549ff They want (F 569ff) to call up Kleon and Hyperbolos Gilbert Murray, 44 (cf already Croiset, 245), concluded from this that Kleon was regarded as a protector of the poor, Hyperbolos is not mentioned I cannot accept this conclusion. The two persons were not only women, but metics The *prostates* was the usual patron whom every metic needed in court, and whom, of course, he paid It is, however, not likely that the two demagogues in real life ever pleaded for metics In the *Frogs* it is simply a joke based on the double meaning of the word *prostates*, which makes the *prostates*, leader of the State, *prostates*, patron of metics The same play on words occurs in P 684, when the demos is abused because οὕτω πονηρὸν προστάτην ἐπεγράψατο, where Hyperbolos is meant

⁹ Eupolis 243. — Plat 60, cf Archipp 27

foreigner and was ridiculed because of her bad Greek.¹ A drug-seller came from Megara, while, on the other hand, Asiatic women had the reputation of being experts in love-potions.² In many cases, foreigners who were not legally metics were resident in Attica.³ Among the lower classes were non-citizens of all sorts. One of them, unless this is comic fiction, was a certain Nikias, father of Hagnon and grandfather of the famous Theramenes; he is said to have been a hired carrier of burdens, and his son (if the reading is right) 'did not know his own deme'.⁴ He belonged to the same profession as those 'carriers' — probably sailors from merchant ships — of whom we are told that they spent their money on sleeping with flute-girls and other hetaerae.⁵ In Athens, and even more in the Peiraeus, there was a strange mixture of language and dialect, of clothes and ways of life.⁶

It was the large number of foreigners which won the Athenians high praise for their *philoxenia*, and the ancient custom still prevailed of honouring a foreigner who had been a guest-friend from one's father's time.⁷ There were, however, other voices as well. We may doubt whether it is possible to take the verdicts of Euripides' *Ion*, necessary as they are for the plot, as reflections of a real hostility on Athens' part against aliens.⁸ Yet the matter had its two aspects, and the demos did not always feel very friendly to foreigners; still less did the government of the Thirty.⁹ Some of the non-Greeks, for instance the Lydians, Egyptians and Carians, or the Phoenicians, had rather a bad reputation.¹⁰ In the community planned in the *Ekklesiastousai* agriculture and making of clothes had their place, but there is no mention of other essential industry, and none of metics or foreigners.¹¹ The whole plan is so incomplete and sketchy that it is better not to draw any conclusion *ex silentio*, but the women's government attacked the hetaerae

¹ Hermipp 11-12

² Theopomp 2. — Eur *Andr* 155ff, 205

³ Thuc VI, 30, 2

⁴ Kratinos 38 P, 30, cf Xen *hell* II, 3, 30 About the evidence from Kratinos' *Ploutoi* for Hagnon cf *AJP* LXVI (1945), 120, note 23

⁵ ἄνδρες φορτηγοί, Metag 4, Aristag 2

⁶ Ps-Xen II, 8

⁷ Kratinos 17 D; cf also the description of Kimon as ἀνὴρ θεῖος καὶ φιλοξενώτατος (Kratinos 1)

⁸ Eur *Ion* 589ff, 721ff

⁹ Phryn 58. — Lysias XII, 4f

¹⁰ adesp 387, 397; cf also Eur. *Or* 1111ff, 1369ff, 1483ff

¹¹ E 651ff

and slave-girls for fear of sexual competition, and many of them must have been foreigners ¹ The joke takes for granted an unfriendly attitude of citizen towards non-citizen, but this can hardly have arisen from general rivalry in business

The comedians, although they sometimes derided foreigners who pushed their way into citizenship, ² generally favoured the metics, at least the Greek metics, and supported their attempts, which undoubtedly were very vigorous, to become as like citizens as possible. The subject was taken up and developed by Xenophon, although he objected to non-Greek soldiers, many of them metics, in the ranks of the Athenian army ³ The presence of a large number of resident aliens naturally caused difficulties and misgivings. It was widely felt that it was the duty of a metic to comply with the life of the city and not to interfere with politics, though if necessary to fight and even to die for the Polis ⁴ On the other hand, foreigners were excluded from the distributions of corn.⁵ The comic poets chiefly pleaded for equality of treatment and position between citizens and metics. As flour and bran are needed to make good bread, so citizens and metics are needed for the State. Friendliness to foreigners as well as to fellow-citizens will be rewarded even in Hades ⁶ Eupolis attacked Peisandros because he did not allow a foreign friend to share his meal.⁷ Peasants and traders, artists and craftsmen, metics and foreigners, and the *nesiotai*, the allies from the islands, were

¹ E 718ff

² B 32, Kratinos 38 P, b

³ Xen *Poroi* 2, 2f

⁴ Cf Eur *Med* 222, *Hik* 888ff, *Herakleid.* 503ff

⁵ W 716ff

⁶ A 507f — F 454ff There seems to be here a reflection of the ethics taught in the Eleusinian mysteries into which also non-citizens were frequently initiated (cf Eur *Hik* 173)

⁷ Eupolis 40 P, I a Peisandros appears in comedy as a big and greedy fellow (Hermipp 9, Eupolis 182, Phryn. 20, Plat 95), but that does not help very much to explain the context. However, I do not follow Mr Edmonds, *Mnemosyne* VIII (1939), 1, in altering the text of the papyrus. To make sense of it, we may compare Lysias, frg 1, 168. But the real meaning behind the words cannot be determined, and I am not sure what the ξένοι αὐτοῦ really are. Jensen, *Abh Preuss Akad* (1939), no 14, 4f, thinks that the passage refers to Peisandros' change of party. He builds up his theory very ingeniously, but it seems pressing our incidental evidence too hard when he bases his view mainly on one inscription (*Syll* ³ 92) in which a Peisandros (there were two according to Eupolis 182) moves the προξενία for Lykon, an Achaean shipowner. Why, in general, should the oligarch be less friendly to foreigners than the radical democrat? The opposite would be more likely. There is, at any rate, insufficient evidence for dating the performance of the *Demos* a year later than usual (i.e. spring 411)

called on to unite in the common task of bringing in the peace.¹ No conspirators or place-hunters might share in the citizenship (it was the year of the oligarchic revolution), but metics, well-disposed foreigners and citizens who had lost their rights because of debts to the State, were to be admitted.² The chorus of the *Frogs* demanded that citizens should not be done out of their rights, while slaves who had fought in the naval battle of Arginusae were made 'masters'; all who fought together should be made 'kinsmen and citizens with full rights', and this included metics and foreigners.³

We see that the comedians opposed the policy of restricting the conferment of citizenship, a policy which democracy upheld though it did not strictly enforce it.⁴ We may suppose that this attitude towards metics and other foreigners was shared by many people. At any rate, the importance of 'Athena's foster-children' to the State and in life in general is confirmed, and there is no doubt that most of these foreigners, who had settled down in Attica for good, felt entirely Athenian. Some of them received citizenship, for instance Chairephilos, a big merchant in salted fish, who lived about 350 B.C.⁵ This was not a frequent practice, although in Athens immigration was never made difficult by 'seal and signet' (in modern terms passport and visa), as was the case in the city of the birds.⁶ It is, however, important to note that such a possibility existed, though it was not common Athenian practice, and, we may think, this is true of Cloudcuckooborough also; for, as the song of the chorus goes on to say, no other place is so pleasant for metics to live in.⁷ To become a metic was in itself a goal to be coveted, and a reason for foreign traders to bring corn to Athens.⁸ It is a mistake to picture the majority of metics and foreigners who earned their living by trade and craft as men

¹ P 296ff

² L 576ff Cf Schulthess, *P-W* XVIII, 627ff, Wilamowitz, 511

³ F.693f, 700ff ⁴ Cf Andokides II, 23

⁵ See Kirchner, *Prosopogr Attica*, 15187

⁶ B.1212ff The two Greek words are σφραγίς and σύμβολον, and the meaning of both seems more or less the same. Certainly σύμβολον is here not a written document, since the bird-official is supposed to 'affix' it, it has to be fixed to such a document like a σφραγίς (cf. also B 559f). Cf also *ATL* II, 50 to

I 164, D 7, 15

⁷ B.1313ff, 1318ff.

⁸ *Lysias* VI, 49

wandering from town to town.¹ There was a certain contempt for barbarians among the Athenians, and even pride among the Attic-born towards foreigners from other Greek countries.² Poseidon's disgust at the way the Triballian god wore his coat may have been more than a mere joke.³ But there was no striking difference between the citizens and the Greek metics, whether rich or poor.

Many of the paid workmen who had to be punctual at their working-place, and therefore were under strict control, were citizens.⁴ There were probably citizens even among the wine-bearers, although they were generally slaves.⁵ On the other hand, citizens as well as metics owned slaves, and their wives walked through the streets, followed by one or more slave-girls.⁶ Citizens and metics were lessees of the mines at Laureion, and both made up the crowds in the *deigma*, the bazaar in the Peiraeus.⁷ Evidence from comedy adds to the knowledge we possess from other sources, especially from the honorary decree for those who fought at Phyle, by which citizenship was granted to several metics who were either specialized tradesmen and craftsmen, or even farmers and market gardeners, or day-labourers.⁸

It was usual also for the metics to take part in worship and festivals, though they were sometimes segregated from the citizens.⁹ They were, in fact, more highly esteemed in public opinion than the allies who had to work hard to win the goodwill of the citizens, and were treated as subjects rather than as allies.¹⁰ The metics loved Athens as their new fatherland, the allies from 'the thousand cities paying tribute'¹¹ certainly did not.

Whenever the Athenians thought of the allies, that is to say, of their empire, their predominant idea, according to comedy, was to get as much money out of them as possible, and the demagogues were not so much blamed for exploiting the allies

¹ Here and later in this chapter I give and controvert the views expressed by Hasebroek.

² Eupolis 71.

³ B 1567.

⁴ adesp. 35 D. These are the often mentioned *μισθοῦτοί*.

⁵ frg. 299, 45 D.

⁶ IG I², 329 (Syll.³ 96, Tod, 79). — K 448f, B 69ff, Th. 279ff.

⁷ IG. II², 1582ff, Xen. *Poroi* 4, 12 — Lysias, frg. 17, 6.

⁸ IG II², 10 (Syll.³ 120, Tod, 100).

⁹ IG I², 84, 25; cf. Eur. *El.* 795.

¹⁰ W 675ff.

¹¹ W 707.

as they were accused of pocketing most of the money themselves and robbing the ordinary citizens of their share.¹ Sometimes we are told of 'foreigners' who were exploited, like those 'fruit-bearers' whom Kleon had milked, or those who came to town through the gates and there met Kleon, now degraded to the position of a sausage-seller.² We may regard these foreigners in the main as allies.³ Some of the devices by which the allies are supposed to be cheated are obvious comic invention, others may have been used; but even from comedy it becomes clear that the rule over the 'cities' or 'islands' did not mean continuous exploitation, though the importance of the tribute is beyond doubt. Aristophanes seems to indicate that Athenian embassies went out whenever there was delay in payment by the allies.⁴ This payment was an official transaction, and the State and the city of Athens were its chief gainers. From Perikles' time the latter fact became the main point in the oligarchic opposition, and it is this that lies behind the distortion of the comedians.⁵ Normally the cities sent their tribute by delegates, but frequently during the war 'the silver-collecting ships' went round the allied States.⁶ Old men were proud to remember the days of their youth when the treasure of the Confederacy was brought from Delos to Athens.⁷ The allies, on the other hand, tried to make use of the plight of Athens during the war, in order to free themselves from the heaviest of their burdens.⁸ Compared with the *phoroi*, the tributes of the allies, all the other revenues, whether legal or not, which the Athenians might gain from the empire, seemed petty advantages.⁹ It is, on the other hand, a mistake to think too exclusively of the *phoros* as an important instrument of

¹ K 312f, 326, 801f, 832ff, 930ff, 1034, 1408, W 666ff, 673ff, 707ff, P 45ff, 639ff, B.1021ff, 1035ff, 1422ff, 1453ff, Eupolis 231, Ps-Xen I, 14ff

² K 326, 1408; cf P 46ff. It is significant that Euripides coined the word ξενόπαιτης (*frg* 667)

³ Cf A 503. Gilbert Murray, *Greek Studies*, 60, maintains that Aristophanes in the *Knights* 'is always indirectly championing the cause of the subject allies, but that he never mentions them by name till the last line of the play'. He calls them ξένοι there — in fact, in the last word of the play — but he had spoken of ξένοι, πόλεις or νῆσοι before (see the passages cited in note 1)

⁴ A 192f ⁵ Cf Plut *Per* 12

⁶ A 643 — K 1070f, Thuc II, 69, 1, III, 19, IV, 50, 1, 75, 1

⁷ W 1098ff

⁸ P 619ff, cf Thuc I, 122, 1

⁹ Cf the lists, W 656ff, Ps-Xen I, 16ff



a



b



c

VASE PAINTERS AND FISHERMEN



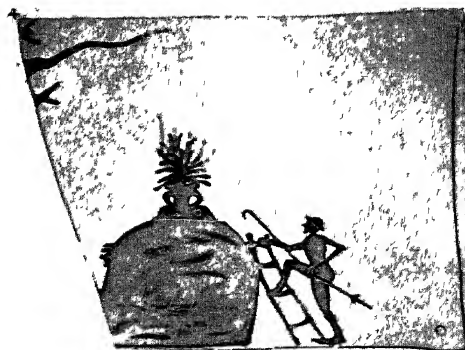
a



c



d



b

and the centralization of jurisdiction, with all the inconveniences necessarily connected with them, were naturally regarded by the allies as a burden, the more since the evils of the popular courts, of sycophantism and corruption, were equally inflicted upon them.¹ It must have been a much resented blow to the autonomy of the allied States when the Athenians decreed that, if an Athenian citizen was killed in allied territory, the city itself concerned had to pay the heavy fine of five talents.² The chief trouble was that everything was dominated by political issues, and that Athens—naturally enough—wherever and whenever it was possible, supported the local democrats against their oligarchic opponents.³ The rule of the Athenians and their treatment of the allies was truly tyrannical and frequently no longer bound by normal moral standards.⁴

Several comedians, for instance Eupolis and Philyllos, wrote plays in which 'the Cities' formed the chorus.⁵ In Eupolis' play one of the allied cities spoke like a slave who wanted another master 'when I suffer such misery, am I not even to beg to be sold once more?'⁶ An Athenian leering at one of the girls who represented the allied towns, was told to take himself off to a colony.⁷ That is significant. Citizens wanting to make money, and usually making it, out of the allies were advised by the poet to go to one of the colonies. The colony of Brea, for instance, was founded in order to give the poorer classes of citizens economic relief.⁸ The story of Cloudcuckooborough, in particular the appearances of *episkopos*, decree-seller and sycophant, points to the fact that the colonies, even if they were not cleruchies of Athenian citizens, remained under the sway of the Athenian demos and suffered from the same evils which the comedians found in the democratic, or rather demagogic, rule both at home and within the empire.⁹ There was no remedy against the subject status of the allies. It happened only late and in a few exceptional cases

¹ K 326, P 639ff, B 1422ff, 1453ff, cf W 577

² P 169ff. The allusion in these lines has been explained by P. Roussel, *Rev. ét. anc.* XXXV (1933), 385 (cf *Mélanges Glotz*, II, 817, 1 and 3) and by R. Meiggs, *Cl. Rev.* LXIII (1949), 9ff.

³ A 462, P.639f, Ps-Xen. I, 14

⁴ Eupolis 217

⁵ Eupolis 205ff, Philyll 10ff

⁶ Eupolis 225

⁷ Eupolis 206

⁸ IG I², 45 (Tod, 44, *Syll.* 3 67)

⁹ B 1021ff, 1033f, 1035ff, 1422ff, 1453ff. About the mutual approach of the different types of colonies cf my *Aspects of the Ancient World*, 119ff, 128ff

like that of Chios that the Athenians genuinely acknowledged and rewarded the loyalty of an ally.¹ It is significant for the decay of the empire, and for the hatred which had accumulated against Athens, that Lysistrata in her striking call for unity speaks of metics and 'if there is any friendly foreigner' — that is, so it seems, to say, individual human beings only; she also speaks of colonies, but does not mention the allies at all.² That was in 411 B.C. When at last everything had gone and Sparta ruled the seas, the comedian Platon wrote a comedy *Hellas or The Islands* — as far as we can see from the few fragments extant, a pathetic obituary on the empire, in which Poseidon threatened Sparta to destroy her supremacy of the seas, if she did not willingly give it up; and Greece lamented that she herself had become blind and weak.³

The allies, apart from official embassies, did not come into direct contact with the Athenian people. That is probably the reason why they did not appear as individuals on the comic stage, while men from neighbouring countries such as Megara and Boeotia did. There could be only a chorus of personified allied cities. Nevertheless, the relations between the citizens and the allies are, as we have seen, clearly reflected in comedy.

To return to the mixed crowd in Athens, we must emphasize once more the part played by the citizens in the economic life of the city. We shall thus more easily discover to what extent the various types of foreigner were important. It is obvious that in comedy none of the leading characters were metics or foreigners. Peasant or townsmen, rich or poor, all were citizens. Not only Trygaios was a 'worthy citizen'.⁴ The poor wood-worker Lamios, called 'the saw' or 'the axe', would hardly have been mentioned in such a way, if he was not a citizen.⁵ It has often been pointed out that the potters must have been citizens from early times, for a district of the town, the Kerameikos, was called after them.⁶

¹ B 879f, Eupolis 232

² L 576ff. I read in 580 (with Boissonade and Coulon) καὶ τις ξένος ἢ (instead of ἢ) φίλος ὑμῖν. It is just possible, but not likely, that Lysistrata here proposed to do what the Athenians did only in 405-4, when they granted citizenship to the Samians 'as far as they were on the side of the Athenian people' (*Syll.*³ 116, Tod, 96).

³ Plat. 24, 1D

⁴ P 910

⁵ adesp. 823-4

⁶ Cf. already Blumner, *Gewerbl. Tätigkeit*, 66, 1. Buchsensschutz, *Hauptstätten des Gewerbelebens*, 13. Cf. above, p. 127f.

There was no rule against bringing metics on the stage. In fact, they appear frequently, though usually in subordinate parts. At least three of the comic poets, Krates, Pherekrates and Platon, wrote comedies with the title *The Metics*; but we do not know how important the part of the chorus was in these plays.¹ If the metics had been so prominent in economic life as most modern scholars believe, it would be impossible that nearly all the tradesmen and merchants and artisans in comedy are citizens. Having an audience of citizens, or even of citizens and metics together, the poets no doubt usually preferred to present citizens, but they could not regularly depict general conditions which were contrary to the real facts.²

Aristophanes could represent citizens even as slaves, but that was a kind of 'mask', a fiction easily dropped.³ Moreover, some of the politicians were attacked and insulted by the suggestion that they were foreigners or even foreign slaves.⁴ Hyperbolos as a Lydian or Phrygian is a barbarian slave who cannot speak correct Attic, Kleophon was sometimes called a Thracian slave, sometimes — which was obviously closer to the facts — the son of a Thracian mother.⁵ The strategos Diopeithes is called 'Cretan, barely Attic', and a certain demagogue is said to have had no *phrateres* even the day before, and to be unable to speak Attic.⁶ When Aristophanes complains most violently of the political leaders of the day, they are called rascals, animals, aliens, all in one.⁷ There was, however, little danger that foreigners who had recently become citizens might succeed in becoming leaders of the people. In most cases this was pure invention and comic distortion; on another occasion Hyperbolos, for instance, was called 'a sour citizen'.⁸ Also the blear-eyed Archedemos, one of the best-known demagogues of

¹ Krates 22, Pherekr 112, Plat 77f

² There was a common audience of citizens and metics, though not of allies, at the Lenaia (A 507f)

³ K 1ff, 44 — K 319ff

⁴ Even in tragedy a violent speaker in the assembly at Argos can be described as ἄρχειος οὐκ ἄρχειος (Eur Or 902ff). He spoke in favour of Tyndareus' charge against Orestes and is therefore called ἡντοκκαρμένοσ, which may mean 'forced upon the people' or 'suborned by Tyndareus' (thus Grube, 389).

⁵ Plat 170, Polyzel. 5 — B 1244, Plat 166, 187, cf Andokides, *frag* 5 — Plat 168 — Kleophon schol F 679, 681 (cf Plat 60), Aischines II, 76 — Eur Or 903 (see last note) is, according to the scholion, a reference to Kleophon. Cf Jensen, *Abh Preuss Ak* 1939, no 14, 9.

⁶ Plat. 31. — Eupolis 40 P, 21ff

⁷ F 730ff

⁸ K 1304

about 400 B.C., was no foreigner, as the scholiast maintains.¹ He was not a *phrater*, not a member of a phratry, and therefore probably a bastard or the son of an alien mother.² Politics remained the domain of citizens, not only legally (that goes without saying) but also socially.

No doubt many of the citizens who appear in comedy were of the type which, in order to make a few obols, was eager to serve on the juries and subsequently to get into the assembly. Many of them, the 'many of the obol', depended on this money, as on their days of official duty they could not earn a living for their family.³ It must have been worse during the war, when many of the peasants lived in town, with no earnings and no work. Although there were also in the courts and the assembly well-to-do people who might perhaps give the three obols as pocket-money to their children,⁴ the majority of those who drew this money were poor men. This fact is well known and needs no long argument to prove it, but most of the people were able to divide their time between business and politics, and the jurymen, who sometimes sat for weeks in court from morning to evening, were mostly old men.

These arguments, both positive and negative, suggest that a large and, for the most part, uniform section of the population was made up of both citizens and metics. Leaving aside the question of political rights and taking into account only the social and economic conditions, we may say that both together formed a higher and lower middle-class of the type we have tried to define in discussing the citizens only. There was no division of labour between citizen and metic, in the sense that service of the State and agriculture were for the citizen, trade and handicrafts for the metic. We have seen that some metics were even farmers and market gardeners. On the other hand, even in vocations where metics formed the majority, they were never so predominant that their position could be considered analogous to that of the citizens in agriculture. It is still more incorrect to speak of a 'deep social gap' between citizens and

¹ F 588 — Schol F 416f

² F 418 — B 1649ff, especially 1669 Cf Radermacher, 204; Latte, *P.-W.* XVII, 1069ff

³ οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦβελου, K 945. Or does it mean 'the many for an obol'? Cf. below, p 230, n 2. — W 300ff, E 460ff

⁴ W 606ff

metics, for both, whether rich or poor, were on roughly the same social level, and actually formed one and the same social body. The unity of the *bourgeois* class must be extended to include the metics.

It is therefore obvious that the number of metics was not so large as is often supposed. Otherwise the opposition against them would have been stronger, and the poets would not have pleaded that they be treated like citizens. The widespread idea that the citizens formed an exclusive social group, rigidly separated from metics and foreigners, is not defensible. Melas the Egyptian was the good friend of a citizen from boyhood up, and we certainly do not get the impression that his case was exceptional, though later the friendship broke down on account of money matters.¹ Marriage with foreigners, on the other hand, whether of men or women, was rare after Perikles in 451 had introduced his citizenship law which barred the way to political rights to the sons of mixed marriages. It is with true Athenian feeling that Theseus in Euripides' *Hiketides* blames Adrastus for having given girls of his city to foreigners.²

The barrier of political privilege was high, but social life flowed over it. This is shown not only by the fact that non-citizens had won, in some degree, a position of social equality, but also by the fact that the activities of the citizens were not exclusively political. From the middle-class came most of the political leaders after Perikles as well as some of the State-officials, but the class which earned its living by trade and craft was also largely composed of citizens. Manual labour was not looked down on, though of course those who worked as workmen, paid by, and dependent on, a master, were not very highly esteemed.³ In the assembly and the courts there were only citizens, but many of these citizens were also workers. This is the true meaning of the statement that the *demos* was lord of the market, of the harbours and of the *pnux*.⁴

A further question relates to the economic importance of

¹ Isaios V, 7f, 40.

² Eur. *Hik* 135, 219ff. Cf. also Ion's amazement that Kreusa had actually married a foreigner (*Ion* 293).

³ Cf. Isaios V, 39. τοὺς δὲ περιεώρα τοὺς μισθωτοὺς ἰόντας δι' ἐνδείαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

⁴ K.165f.

the metics and their effect on the economic position of the citizens. This question is hard to answer because of the poverty of evidence. Undoubtedly, however, trade and craft needed the metics and had needed them ever since Solon had favoured their settlement, and increasingly with the growing demands of an always extending civilization.¹ That is to say, neither trade nor manufacture would have flourished as they did without the help of the metics. And the facts we have enumerated show that, at the same time, there was no economic jealousy between citizens and metics, except when the metics usurped rights reserved for the citizens, for instance participation in the distributions of corn. On the whole, the metics helped to create the prosperity of State and people, but in the long run they might easily oust the citizens economically, since the latter were frequently engaged in political duties. A man who now and then closed his shop in order to attend the assembly or courts would certainly lose customers to the man whose shop was always open. This is perhaps the chief reason for the increasing and in some respects undue share which the metics took in Athenian business life during the fourth century.²

The relations between citizens and metics involved only one side, though the most important one, of the question of foreigners in Athens. We have referred to the other foreigners who though not few in number never came to form a unit. Many of them remained in Attica only for a short time; others settled there more or less permanently, but even then did not form a social group of their own. Their common origin made them associate in small circles and special cults, but they remained individuals.³ If economically important, they tried to acquire the status of metics. Apart from them, there were the slaves. We must consider, in the next chapter, to what degree the economic role of both citizens and foreigners was influenced by slave-labour.

There remains, however, one more question, based not on social or economic, but on ethnical difference, the question of Greek and non-Greek. To comedy the barbarians were little

¹ Cf. Plut. *Sol.* 24, 4, Aristotle, *pol.* 1275b, 36f, Ps.-Xen. I, 12.

² But the opinion about the general and overwhelming economic superiority of the metics, and about the citizens 'forming a gigantic Civil Service' (Michell, 127), is mistaken both for the fifth and the fourth centuries.

³ Cf. Pherekr. 11 (a rather obscure fragment), Archipp. 54.

more than material for many good-natured jokes. The great number of passages about barbarians, some of which are given above, prove that there were many non-Greek elements among the population, especially among the poorer people. Even in relation to the barbarians, the Athenian generally felt less of a Greek than an inhabitant of Attica and an Athenian citizen. There is no parallel to the scene when Philokleon, maltreated by barbarian slaves, complains that they are 'barbarous men', not that they are slaves.¹ The old form of antagonism to the barbarians still survived, chiefly based on the nature of the Polis, but as conditions developed socially and economically, this antagonism became less strong and less conspicuous. The value of Greek education overshadowed that of Greek origin; the barbarian was the uneducated.² At the beginning of this chapter we spoke of the first signs of a somewhat 'cosmopolitan' attitude. It is clear from comedy that first of all for social but partly also for ethnical reasons, the substance of the Polis, the self-contained citizen-body, became slack and relaxed. This gradual internal disintegration of the Polis went hand in hand with a deeper realization of the unity of mankind. Athenian social life had a considerable influence on intellectual development, and in the days of the sophists the foundations were laid of those general conceptions of the relations between man and man which prevailed during the Hellenistic Age.

¹ W 439.

² C 492 — It is well known that in many tragedies the relations between Greeks and barbarians are of fundamental importance. Euripides in particular discusses the question (and often it is a real discussion) from every possible point of view. While he frequently treats 'barbarian' as a synonym to 'foreign' or even to 'savage', and some of his characters as, e.g., Iason and Pentheus, maintain the traditional Greek arrogance and exclusiveness, there are clear signs of a far more generous and also more profound view — undoubtedly shared by the poet — which finds the decisive criterion in the standards of civilized humanity. Cf., e.g., *Andr.* 243f, 261, *Iph T* 660, *Iph A* 558ff, *Ba* 483f, and whole plays such as *Alexandros* and the *Trojan Women* (cf. B. Snell, *Euripides' Alexandros*, 68).

CHAPTER VII

THE SLAVES

For some time past it has been acknowledged that slavery was not such an important element in Greek economic life as was formerly believed. There were many free workmen who frequently had to work much harder than many a slave. Nevertheless, social life both in town and country was inconceivable without slaves, and the idea of an age without them was merely one of the favourite fairy-tale motives of comedy. Women might be pictured in a primitive early age as forced to grind their own corn, or a man as making the furniture and the crockery on the dinner table move and work by themselves.¹ A misanthropic hermit, of course, like Timon, had neither wife nor slaves.² The thought of a life without slaves was so preposterous that even the ideal communist society had to include them, at any rate as agricultural workers.³ The gods themselves had servants who were slaves. Polemos, for instance, was accompanied by Kydoimos, War was the master, Uproar his slave.⁴

Slavery was recognized as a normal and natural institution. It is significant that several words for the slave could be used without distinction. Both male and female slave were an 'unfree body', *andrapoda*, 'human-footed stock', corresponding to the *tetrapoda*, the 'four-footed stock'.⁵ The fellow belonging to the household, the boy or the little boy, the servant and attendant — they all had different names which meant the same thing;⁶ only occasionally was the specific function of a slave stressed by the use of one of these words.⁷

Slaves then were found everywhere, even in places where

¹ Pherekr 10 — Krates 14

² Phryn 18

³ E 651.

⁴ P.255 Cf also the slave-girls of Helios in Euripides' *Phaëthon* (H v Arnim, *Supplementum Euripideum*, 69f = *frg.* 773)

⁵ Pherekr 8 D, 16 D

⁶ δοῦλος, οἰκέτης, παῖς, παιδίον, ὑπηρέτης, διάκονος, ἀκόλουθος

⁷ It would be probably a mistake to assume an intentional distinction in Isokr XIX, 25f, when the speaker says that he together with a παῖς took care of the other man who had no longer any οἰκέτης

perhaps one would not expect them. Chremylos — both he and his friends were poor and hard-working peasants — owned several slaves.¹ The metic women who keep small public-houses in Hades appear on the stage, each with her maid.² The bird Tereus, much to the surprise of the two Athenians, has a bird slave as attendant who had been his slave when both were human beings.³ A Dionysiac festival, with tragedy and music and songs, with bleating lambs and wine and maenads, was not complete without a drunken slave-girl 'and other good things'.⁴ The Greeks could not visualize a life without slaves, and everybody, even the most wretched market-woman, is proud of being free and not a slave.⁵ It was a serious reproach to be told that one behaved 'just like a slave'.⁶ The idea that master and slave should change places, even only for a short time (as happened in comedy), was just as unthinkable as that there should be no slaves at all, Dionysos expresses himself in very drastic terms on the subject.⁷

In trying to find out what was the function of this necessary part of the population, we must first inquire into the number of slaves.⁸ In comedy just as in other sources nothing definite or direct is said about the question of how many slaves were kept in a normal household, either in town or country. Wealthy landowners such as Ischomachos in Xenophon's *Oikonomikos* had a number of slaves working in the fields, even under the

¹ Pl 253ff — 26, 228, 1105. We ought not to try to interpret these facts away by assuming that Chremylos is just a comic character, and 'a trusted slave' like Karion merely a comedy type (Sargent, 77f)

² F. 569ff. Some scholars believe that there were not two hostesses, but only one and her maid. For our purpose both views lead to the same result

³ B 69ff

⁴ P 530ff, 537f

⁵ L. 379, 463f. The fate of those who once had been free and masters themselves, and then became slaves who bewailed their misery and were either pitied or scorned by others, is a well-known theme in tragedy. Cf., e.g., Eur *Hek* 332f, 354ff, 397, 448f, *Andr* 12f, 29ff, 136ff, *Tro* 614f, *El* 898f

⁶ Kratinos 403, Eupolis 396, Theopomp 87.

⁷ F 541ff

⁸ Against the popular over-estimation of the numbers of slaves cf. the careful, if too schematic, investigation by Miss Sargent. Written from a more general point of view, but on similar lines, are the valuable contributions of W. L. Westermann, *P.-W.*, Suppl. VI, s.v. *Sklaerei*, and *Athenian Studies for Ferguson* (1940), 451ff. If I disagree with him on some points, I completely share his views on the part played by slaves in Greek economic life in general. On some points of dispute in the question of slave numbers, see A. W. Gomme, *JHS* LXVI (1946), 127ff

Private slaves are mentioned in comedy much more frequently than public slaves, and domestic slaves play a very large part, as they certainly did in everyday life¹ When someone knocked at the door, he expected a slave to open to him² Steward, housekeeper and cook were slaves, they were found in houses where a larger number of slaves was kept, and a division of labour was therefore usual.³ Frequently a slave, either man or woman, went shopping in the market⁴ The maids went to the spring and the wells for water⁵ Slaves of both sexes, who often had to be called in the morning by the mistress, cleaned the house and waited at meals.⁶ It is perhaps a joke, or at least the exception rather than the usual custom, that the slave should offer his hair to the master to wipe his hands on after he had blown his nose, or that the drinkers should cry during a party 'Boy, the chamber-pot!'⁷ The flute-players, who played during dinner, often did not belong to the house, but were hired.⁸ Slav-girls ground the corn, but it was a punishment to be sent to the mill⁹ Slaves kneaded the dough, and perhaps wore the famous collar to prevent them from putting something in their mouths.¹⁰ It probably often happened that a domestic slave stole some food; at any rate, this is a typical practice of the slave of comedy¹¹ The general evidence of comedy as to the duties of slaves is supported by a number of passages in Euripides, in which the typical duties, especially of female slaves, are described; foremost among them are . sprinkling the floor and cleaning the house, grinding corn and making bread, and weaving cloth¹²

¹ Aristotle declares that the holding of slaves serves *πρᾶξις*, which represents life, not *ποίησις*, which means production (*pol* 1254a, 7f)

² F 37, cf Pherekr 86, also Eur *Tro* 492f Aiaikos (F 465), who opens the door for Dionysos-Herakles, is later not a slave (F 616f) Cf Radermacher, 211 It is probably on account of this inconsistency that in our MSS the person conversing with Xanthias (738ff) is sometimes called Aiaikos and sometimes οἰκέτης Πλούτωνος

³ W 613 — Xen *oik.* 9, 10ff — K 418, Philyll. 10 In this fragment cook and flute-player seem to have the same social status They may be hired men, but they are hardly free men See Plates IIIa, XIVc.

⁴ frg. 299, 503, Pherekr. 126, cf Lysias I, 8

⁵ L 328ff

⁶ L 18 — Phryn 2 D. — Krates 14, Pherekr 184, Ameips 2

⁷ K 910. — Eupolis 351, 5 ⁸ frg 566, Philyll 10

⁹ Pherekr. 10 — Lysias I, 18

¹⁰ frg 301-2

¹¹ P 14, Pl 320, 1139f

¹² Eur *Hek* 332f, *Andr* 166f, *Tro* 491ff, *Ion* 102ff, 128ff (cf 182f, 309, 356), *Ba* 514, frg. 773, 10ff, 12 P, 31ff

An important duty of slaves was to attend their masters in the streets (see Plate XIV*a*) — with a lamp or torch, if darkness had set in.¹ If the master had to be fetched from a dinner-party, which might, but did not always, last far into the night, it may have been a difficult and sometimes even dangerous task to bring him safely home.² For in many cases the gentleman was drunk, and besides, the streets were apt to be unsafe on a dark night.³ When the young son went to the palaestra, a slave, carrying his ball and strigil, accompanied him.⁴ When the mistress went for a walk, the maid carried behind her the box, the contents of which — besides the cake for the sacrifice — may have resembled those which nowadays a lady carries in her handbag.⁵ On longer journeys the slave had to carry the luggage on a wooden bearing-pole on his shoulder (see Plate XIV*b*).⁶ When the journey led to Delphi — and it may well have been the same at most of the other holy places — the attendant slave shared the meat of the sacrifice and also wore a wreath.⁷ No doubt, the relations between master and domestic slave were often close and patriarchal.⁸ More than that, a slave-girl frequently made herself pretty so as to please her master, and slaves sometimes slept with their mistress.⁹

As a rule, however, sexual relations between citizens and slaves were confined to those between free men and slave women and girls. Such relations were of great social importance, as we should naturally expect in an almost purely male society, as that of the Greek cities was at that time. It is significant of the current standard of morals that the adultery of a wife, or of a man with a married woman, was heavily punished, but otherwise the sexual life of the men was absolutely free, as long as they did not try to make money by it.¹⁰

Sexual relations between the male members of a family and the slave-girls were frequent.¹¹ Thus we find the grown-up son falling in love with a young slave-girl.¹² There may have

¹ B 69ff, F 569ff, Pl. 823 — Pherekr 40, cf. C 614.

² frg 464 — Pherekr 6 D ³ Antuphon, *tetral.* I

⁴ frg 139 ⁵ κίστη, Th. 279ff, 285

⁶ F 8, 12ff, 165ff, frg 323, 559, 852, Xen. *mem.* III, 13, 6.

⁷ Pl 21, 227f

⁸ Pl 1ff, frg 645b Ample evidence for this can be found in tragedy.

⁹ E 1117 — Th. 491, frg. 695, perhaps adesp 5 D = 44 P, 18f

¹⁰ Punishment of adulterer C 1083, see below, p 196.

¹¹ Cf also ch VIII

¹² frg. 9.

been occasional parallels to the many mythical stories in which a conquering hero takes an enslaved captive girl as his mistress. Quite another matter, though usually also slaves, were the professional hetaerae, 'mercenary women', 'common women' ¹ They were of very different origin, and included Greeks as well as barbarians. Besides Corinth and Megara, which are often mentioned, Lesbos seems to have been especially the home also of this kind of love. ² The comedians in general exhibit a very low type of hetaera, and we may assume that the girl who was able to meet men on a high intellectual level, such as we hear of more frequently in the following centuries, as for instance Isokrates' friend Lagiska, was an exception in the days of Aspasia ³ Flute-players, however, and dancers formed a large number of the hetaerae (see Plates IX, XV) ⁴ They might belong to a master who hired them out, lived on their earnings and often cruelly exploited them. ⁵ Other hetaerae had no special accomplishment, fond of dresses and perfumes, they lived on love and for love, protected by 'master, friend and lover' ⁶ Some of them lived with their lovers, or even with two lovers. ⁷ It is not surprising that these girls, partly free women, but the great majority of them slaves, sometimes had sexual relations also with slaves. ⁸ Lysias tells us that many hetaerae gave up their profession when still very young; they were probably free women or manumitted slaves who had induced their lovers to marry them ⁹ Many of the hetaerae lived alone, and were dependent on the business efficiency of procurers and, even more frequently, procuresses. ¹⁰ Some of them were very well known all over the town, and one man would ask another. 'Have you been spending the night at that impertinent strumpet's?' ¹¹ Another could be admired for her beauty which

¹ Andokides IV, 14. — Phryn 74. — περσάι, Eupolis 169, Plat 155. Another expression is inexplicable κασσαλβάδες, frg 478

² Strattis 26. — Pherekr 149

³ Lagiska Strattis 3

⁴ W 1353, 1368, Plat 155, Archupp 27, Metag 4, Anisagoras 2. — C 996f, F 514ff, Krates 27, Eupolis 77.

⁵ Myrtilos 4, cf Xen. *symp*, *passim*

⁶ E 721, 1117. — Lysias, *frg* 18

⁷ P 439f. — Lysias IV, 8.

⁸ W.500, E.721.

⁹ Lysias, *frg* 44, Isaios III, 17

¹⁰ L 957f, Th 335ff, 1177ff, adesp 8

¹¹ K 765, W 1032, Th 98, 805, F 1328. — Eupolis 344

would 'glow from her garment like a flame from a lantern'.¹

Many hetaerae lived in brothels.² The owner often had only two girls; in such a case it was possible to speak of his 'yoke', his pair, of cattle.³ A drachme was apparently a small fee for a visit, but a stater, either a *didrachmon* or a *tetradrachmon*, rather much for 'medium' goods.⁴ The brothel was a normal place of accommodation and rest, in town as well as on a journey.⁵ Most frequently it was situated near the gates of the town or in the harbour-districts.⁶ There visitors and hetaerae drank wine, played kottabos and the girls danced naked and clean-plucked.⁷ There were 'falling-ripe' girls or half-children, 'firm as salted olives',⁸ though there were others who retired only at a fairly advanced age.⁹ It was also possible for a man, without any harm to his own status as a respected member of society, to send his concubine to a brothel.¹⁰ The story of the girls of Aspasia, whose abduction was said to have been the cause of the war, implies that Perikles' mistress was a brothel-keeper.¹¹ That view is one of the coarse marks of disrespect shown by the comedians, but was perhaps shared by part of the people; Lysikles, who married Aspasia after Perikles' death, is mentioned in one breath with two well-known hetaerae.¹² Sometimes Herakles is depicted at a brothel as a guest who is finally turned out, and even Persephone had to provide him not only with plenty of food and drink, but also with girls.¹³ The owners of the brothels who earned their living from the girls, or the hetaerae, if they lived by themselves, had to pay special taxes which were farmed out in the

¹ fig 8 I retain Salmasius' correction of $\kappa\epsilon\nu\tilde{\omega}$ into $\kappa\alpha\nu\tilde{\omega}$, since an empty lantern does not make sense, in Pherekr 40 we hear of a light put into a lantern. The woman wears an ἑξωπις, normally a poor man's or slave's garment (see M. Bieber, *Griech. Kleidung*, p. 21 and pl. XXII, also below p. 184f), a short chiton which left one shoulder and part of the breast bare. Was it a somewhat daring costume suitable only for a hetaera?

² fig 273, cf P 849, Plat 159, Isaïos VI, 19f

³ adesp 804, cf P 842ff

⁴ Th. 1195 — Theop 21.

⁵ F. 112f, Eupolis 40 P, 25. I confess, however, that I do not fully understand either the Greek or Page's translation of the latter passage.

⁶ K. 1398ff, adesp 805 — P 165, Eupolis 48, Metag 4, Aristag 2

⁷ F. 514ff, Krates 27, Pherekr 67ff, Plat 46-7

⁸ fig 141, adesp. 766.

⁹ Isaïos VI, 19

¹⁰ Antiphon I, 14. From §20 it is clear that she was a slave

¹¹ A 524ff, cf Eupolis 98

¹² K 765

¹³ Plat 46ff, 3 D — F 504ff.

same way as other public resources; but this kind of business was, as we can easily understand, not highly esteemed.¹ Incidentally, a place with as bad a reputation as the brothel was the bath-house.²

It goes without saying that sexuality is unduly prominent in comedy, but public opinion was agreed that sexual intercourse with hetaerae was entirely natural and beyond moral criticism. The moral judgment of paederasty and its treatment in comedy are different. Probably even here the comic attitude followed a feeling held by many of the people. Paederasty may sometimes be depicted as a sort of last resort.³ But, in general, it was the privilege of the rich youth, at any rate, it meant exclusively a relationship with free and noble boys.⁴ No slave is ever mentioned as the object of homosexual love, though boys as well as girls could be flute-players and acrobats.⁵ All the persons attacked in comedy for paederasty belong to the upper classes,⁶ but paederasty as practised in Sparta, shared by all Spartiates, that is to say the whole of Spartan society, and considered a necessary part of its organization, was a thing unknown and foreign. The Spartan ambassador, who calls Lysistrate Lysistratos, makes some insinuations not appropriate to her as a woman, but in accordance with the notorious Spartan practice of paederasty.⁷

Thus slaves played an essential but limited part in the sexual life of the Athenians. Roughly the same is true of life in general. Women who wanted to do away with the competition of slave-girls both in their own houses and in the brothels

¹ P 850 — Philonid 5.

² K. 1401, F 1279f

³ L 1092.

⁴ B 137ff, 707, Pl 155ff, adesp 12-14, 338-9, Lysias III Cf above, p 100ff

⁵ frg 700, cf Xen *symp*, *passim*

⁶ The grotesque enumeration of those who were εὐρύπρωκτοι, all of them, ending with the τῶν θεατῶν πλείονες (C 1089ff), is hardly more than a coarse joke

⁷ L 1105, cf 1148, 1174. It seems to be essential to distinguish between πυγὴ and πρωκτός, the latter being used in 1148. πυγὴ is an element of female beauty (cf also Liddell and Scott, s. δωσίπυγος in Add.), while πρωκτός generally alludes to paederasty. The meaning of 1174 is rather disgusting, but the obscene explanation of the line is confirmed by P. 11 and E 363ff. As far as I know, nobody has yet seen the peculiar tendency of the Laconian woman's words which in her mouth are certainly strange, but all other explanations of the 'Lysistratos' seem to be unsatisfactory. The plot, of course, excludes all possibilities of sexual intercourse except that of legally married couples, but there is another allusion to paederasty (1092)

are hardly more than a joke.¹ But open competition between free people and slaves, which, as a universal feature of sexual life, appears ridiculous and is only part of a comic Utopia, has been regarded as a feature of economic activities in other departments of life. Even if this were true, all our evidence points to the fact — a very interesting fact indeed — that it was no problem. Slave-labour was used by the side of free labour in craft and manufacture, in a lesser degree also in trade and least of all in farming.² 'Those who can afford it buy slaves in order to have fellow-workers.'³ The word fellow workers is significant. It was as a complement, not in competition, that slaves worked side by side with free men, citizens as well as metics and foreigners. It is altogether a mistake to assume a division of labour between the groups of the population. The opposite has already been proved to be the case by the well-known building records and by our investigation of the social conditions of the metics.⁴ Few of these slaves and free labourers were skilled workmen, and the form of occupation is rarely of any help in distinguishing between the two groups. It is, for example, hard to decide whether the mule-drivers, standing and chatting together in the streets, were slaves or free men whose only capital might be represented by their animal.⁵ The 'man who made a living by anointing', a servant in the palaestra, was probably a free man who had found a modest way of earning his living, though one in general more suited to a slave.⁶

The dividing line between slaves in workshops or on farms and domestic slaves is not always clear. We do not know, for instance, whether the slaves with the big collar already mentioned baked bread for a private household or for a baker.⁷ Such border-line cases are frequent. It should be noticed that the comedians refer to slaves outside the household as single craftsmen only, not as workmen in a larger shop. However, the *metalleis*, the mine-slaves, are mentioned. They are called 'sack-carriers', which means that they carried the ore in sacks out of the pits. In fact, this was only one group of mine-

¹ E 718ff. Still, Gorgias (*frg* 8^a Diels) mentions his love for a slave-girl and his wife's jealousy.

² Cf the numbers in Gomme, *Population of Athens*, 42f.

³ Xen *mem* II, 3, 3

⁴ See ch. VI

⁵ *frg* 633

⁶ ἄλειφόςβιος, *frg* 740

⁷ *frg.* 301-2 See pp 126, 176.

workers, and probably consisted chiefly of boys.¹ Pherekrates wrote a comedy called *Metallēs*, in which a woman descended to Hades and described it as a sort of 'lotus land'.² It is easy to imagine that the good and lazy life below was set in contrast with the hard life of the miners, but the few fragments do not allow of any certain conclusion, and the comedian certainly did not advocate better social conditions for such slaves. He may, however, have attacked the rich who bought, that is to say rented, silver-mines, and sometimes employed several hundred mine-slaves.³ It was, on the other hand, also possible to rent out to the mines one single slave.⁴

On the farms, slaves were chiefly occupied in the house, but also in the fields. When a slave was tied to an olive tree and flogged because he had stolen grapes, he was not necessarily only a worker in the vineyard. And if we find a slave working in the field, while a slave-girl did the domestic work, it does not prove that this was always the case. These two were of the same type as the 'house-slaves in the fields' who got their figs weighed out.⁵ On the larger estates real agricultural labourers might be needed, but probably even there at times only when there was extra work to be done, so, for example, hired day-labourers, probably free men, were needed for gathering olives.⁶ It was not worth while to feed slaves throughout the year, if they were needed only for a few weeks. We have seen that even small farmers had one or more slaves, but never for agricultural work only, and Aristotle's famous words can be applied to our period too 'For the poor, the ox takes the place of the slave.'⁷ The owner of a big estate had probably a certain small stock of regular workers who were slaves, but it was quite impossible, except in Utopian com-

¹ fig. 789 Ardaillon, *Les mines du Laurion*, 23, 91 In the picture on the well-known Corinthian *pinakes* (*Antike Denkmäler*, I, 8, nr. 7, my Plate XIIIa) the miners use baskets, not sacks This may show that they actually were not miners, but digging clay. At any rate, there is no reason to assume the same for the miners of Laureion, as Michell (100) does, giving a wrong translation of θυλακοφόρος

² Pherekr. 108ff

³ K 362. — Xen *Poroi* 4, 4, 14f.

⁴ Andok. I, 38 This was one of the μισθοφοροῦντες δοῦλοι hired out for one obol a day.

⁵ W.449f. — P 1146ff — P 1249, οἰκέται ἐν ἀγρῶ

⁶ W 712

⁷ *Pol* I, 1252b, 12

munism,¹ to leave all (or even most) of the agricultural work to slaves.

Free and slave-labour stood on the same economic level, and hardly any branch of economic life was entirely closed to slaves. This is the correct view of the part slavery played in the social life of Athens, and it, too, may be illustrated by the evidence of comedy. We must not take into account either Euripides' slave, a perfect sophist like his master, who could be identified with Euripides' friend and 'assistant' Kephisophon,² or the two slaves of Demos, who probably represent the *strategoi* Nikias and Demosthenes, and are sometimes therefore depicted as Attic citizens.³ These are purely figures of comedy. But the slave of Dionysos persuades his master to take a paid servant, that means a free workman, to carry the luggage, and this is not a joke in itself. The joke lies, in fact, in the situation: a dead man is summoned as a hired servant, and hard bargaining follows.⁴ We see that a free day-labourer might, or might not, undertake the work of a slave, according to the wage offered. Many slaves were wage-earners themselves, and even the wage offered to a free workman would only slightly exceed the sum regarded as necessary for the upkeep of a slave. There was no definite distinction, and we find the conclusions we draw from other sources confirmed. No analogy except one severely qualified, or perhaps indeed no analogy at all, should be drawn between ancient slavery and what the modern world calls 'the international proletariat'.

The evidence of comedy does not throw light on the whole of the problem of slavery, chiefly because we learn almost nothing about the slaves who were engaged in trade and manufacture. They were employed in small and large businesses, but only in the latter can slave-labour have been of economic importance. We have seen that slave-labour generally offered hardly any competition to the labour of the free workmen, since there never was unemployment on a large scale, and it made no great difference to a man's fellow craftsmen if he kept a few slaves in his workshop. Thus the question of free and slave-labour is really the question of manufacturing on a small

¹ Cf. E 591f, 651.

² A 396ff — F.944, 1408, 1452f, frg 580

³ K 320, cf. 81ff To die by drinking bull blood like Themistokles is certainly not a slave's plan They want to die ἀνδρικώτατα, like free men

⁴ F 165ff The dead man was to be a μισθωτός.

or on a large scale. Since we do not believe in the predominant economic importance of big *ergasteria*, where slave-labour was generally preferred, we do not believe in the predominant role of slave-labour in general. It was necessary and needed everywhere, but rather as supplementary and not as part of the foundations of economic life. Free men never felt slave-labour as a danger, hardly ever as a disadvantage. That is true of both citizens and metics, and to citizens, who might feel the competition of the metics, slave-labour was on the contrary a help in their endeavours to make money while at the same time carrying out their political duties.

This raises the question of the treatment of slaves, or to put it in a more general way, the question of their social position. Apart from the public slaves already mentioned, we may first refer to the description of Athenian slaves given by a writer roughly contemporary with the early works of Aristophanes, the so-called 'Old Oligarch' or Pseudo-Xenophon¹. He maintains that the position of slaves in Athens was the same as that of metics and manumitted slaves, that they wore the same sort of clothes as the citizens, that they even enjoyed *isegoria*, full freedom of speech, and that many of them were rich and only had to pay a fixed sum to their masters. Nobody was allowed to beat another man's slave, and slaves did not even make way in the streets.

Let us try to find out what the comedians can tell us of the accuracy of this description, which is certainly a one-sided view. We begin with the outward appearance and attire of slaves. Here we are given a certain number of details. The slaves, for instance, did not wear their hair long, but this was in any case done only by noblemen². There were no special clothes which the slaves had to wear. But it could be said: 'Do dress like a slave', and the Megarian *chlauiskidion* and the *katonake* were clearly clothes worn chiefly by slaves, as distinguished from the fine woollen *chlaina*³. The *exomis* also was counted a slave's dress, and so was the *kyne*,⁴ but these garments might also be worn by poor citizens. The woman, on the other hand, who complained that she no longer wore light sandals, decorated with golden flowers, but *peribarides* like a slave-girl, must have been something of a snob; for the *peribarides* were a quite

¹ Ps.-Xen. I, 10ff.

² B 911 — C 14f.

³ Phryn. 2 D. — P. 1002. — L. 1151, 1155ff, E. 723f.

⁴ W. 444f

hard life; their iron fetters have been found in the galleries of Laureion. The life of a slave was not in fact so splendid as the 'Old Oligarch' professes to believe. To run away was to many slaves worth attempting, though it happened rarely that a slave tried to murder his master.¹

Free men and women frequently indulged their pride towards slaves without restraint.² The master was always the absolute lord and owner, the *despotes*.³ Therefore to kill one's own slave was not a legal crime, although it involved religious pollution.⁴ It was possible to speak of a yoke for three slaves as for oxen.⁵ A slave was a piece of property, and the master was its owner,⁶ he did not argue, but gave orders.⁷ Contempt for slaves was a natural attitude and very common, but reaction against it set in at an early date. It was partly an outcome of the usually good relations between slave and master, but chiefly and finally derived from a fundamental change of outlook, which is reflected in tragedy rather than in comedy, and which regards freedom in the light of independence of mind rather than that of the physical person.⁸ On the other hand, the rich Athenians had very little of that Roman upstart pride in owning as many slaves as possible. They liked to have 'beautiful weapons, good horses, and splendid furniture', while their wives spent their money on 'expensive clothes and golden finery'.⁹ Even the gravestones which frequently show the mistress together with a slave-girl, display her love for jewellery

¹ αὐτομολεῖν, K 21ff. — An attempt to murder was once made by a boy of eleven (Antiphon V, 69).

² L 330f, 379, 463f, F 542ff, E 721ff, 941, Eur *fig* 216

³ e.g., W 67, 442, P.54, 80, 90, Pl 2, adesp 444

⁴ Antiphon VI, 4

⁵ *fig* 576

⁶ E 1126, Pl 4, Phryn 48, Sannyrion 11, Eur *Med* 49, *Hek* 397. One man, though, could claim to be κυριώτερος than another (Eur *Andr* 580)

⁷ adesp 538. I do not think it is right to say, at least as regards the average owner, 'the master is ὁ δεσπότης, not merely ὁ κακτημένος' (G. R. Morrow, *Cl Phil* 32 (1937), 226). The expression δεσπότης alone does not prove the point: also a not very masterlike Hermes (P 377, 385, 388, 399, 648, 711), since he is a god, and a rich man contrasted with a parasite (*fig* 491) are so called.

⁸ Cf., e.g., Eur. *Ion*, 854ff, *Hel* 728ff, 1640f, *fig* 511, 831. Both points of view found striking expression in the *Alexandros*. Cf. also the description of Kapaneus who was equally courteous towards slaves and citizens (Eur *Hik* 869ff)

⁹ Xen. *poroi*, 4, 8. I wonder whether this general attitude has something to do with the fact that slaves are so frequently omitted in lists of property (see above, p 167)

rather than any personal relationship such as Alkestis enjoyed, whom her slaves loved like a mother.¹

On the whole, therefore, the description of Ps-Xenophon is seen to be exaggerated; we know for a fact that slaves were beaten often enough. Though we may assume that here the comic poets, too, exaggerate, flogging was certainly the usual punishment.² A slave might be put in the stocks and whipped, and a comedian coined even a special word for the poor fellow.³ One of the favourite etymological jokes was to derive the word for 'boy' and 'slave' from the word for 'to strike'; thus even an old slave could be addressed as 'boy', because he was beaten so often.⁴ The slaves were subject to their masters' arbitrary desire to beat them, and this is confirmed by a remark like this. 'When the cook has spoiled the food, the flute-player will be beaten.'⁵ Comedy as well as other sources affords evidence of the frequent practice of offering to submit slaves to cruel torture in order to prove the innocence of their master in court.⁶ Evidence given by tortured slaves was often looked upon as being especially trustworthy, but when offered in a trial, the opponent would normally argue that the testimony of slaves in general and under torture in particular had no value.⁷ It was probably a view shared by many, though contested by others, that 'a slave was unable to say the truth, unless it suited his master'.⁸ This ambiguity perhaps more than reasons of humanity increasingly prevented the parties from making use of their opponents' offers. The comic situation in the *Frogs*, when the slave offers for torture his master Dionysos with whom he has changed clothes, also gives ground for supposing that torture was seldom actually used.⁹ Athens could even pride herself that 'equal law' was applied, whether a citizen or a

¹ Eur. *Alk.* 769, cf. 948f.

² K 4f, 27ff, 64ff, W 449f, 1292f, 1325, P 743ff, F.745ff, Pl 21, 271ff, 1144, frg 651 (even for a woman as in Isokr. XVIII, 52ff, and as a threat in Lysias I, 18), Phryn. 36

³ κλωρομάστιξ, adesp. 1039 κλωρός = κλοιός is a wooden collar

⁴ παῖς from παῖειν W 1296ff, 1307

⁵ F.547f, 812f. — Philyll 10

⁶ F 616f

⁷ Antiphon I, 6ff, Lysias IV, 14, VII, 34, Isaios VIII, 12 — Antiphon V, 49ff, VI, 25.

⁸ Eur. *frg* 313 — belonging, it is true, to the satyr drama *Bucirri*.

⁹ Cf J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht u. Rechtsverfahren.* 658ff

slave had been murdered.¹ There were, under different names, prisons for slaves, and the slave could be called simply 'prisoner' just as the losing bird in a cock-fight was called 'slave'.²

Small wonder that slaves often ran away. If recaptured, they were punished severely and branded;³ but they had an asylum where they could ask to be resold.⁴ All these facts are at least as strong and valid evidence as the typical slaves of comedy, the faithful or the insolent slave who is on intimate terms with the master and sometimes with the mistress.⁵ It is, perhaps, not permissible to neglect one side of the picture in favour of the other, but we must remember that, though both represent comic extremes, the slave who stood on almost the same level as his master was far more of a farcical type than the one who was oppressed.

There was a good chance of social advancement for the slaves who either were hired out or worked on their own account, and had to pay only a fixed sum to their master.⁶ In comedy they are hardly mentioned; but 'the city of slaves, of the wicked new-rich' must have been an imaginary place inhabited by slaves who had grown rich, and that must have been by the pursuit of trade or craft.⁷ It was possible to contrast the impoverished citizen with the slave who had grown rich.⁸ On one occasion a certain Xanthias is said to practise 'the iron craft', the name shows that the man was a slave, but nothing else is known about this smith or moulder.⁹ The allusions to the careers of certain real or fictitious emancipated

¹ This seems to be the meaning of such passages as Eur *Hek* 291f and Antiphon V, 48 (cf also Lykourgos, *Leokr* 65). The statement is, of course, not true with regard to a man who had killed his own slave (see above, p 186, n 4). But in other cases the point can neither be simply denied nor fully confirmed. It was a great thing that in Athens a slave could have legal protection at all, but it was by no means the same as that granted to a citizen. The legal possibilities open to a slave are fully discussed by Morrow, *loc. cit.*, 218ff.

² frg 93, Eupolis 348, 19 D, Theop. 63 — frg 65, 837 — B 70.

³ P.451f — B 760, L 330f, frg 64, 97, Eupolis 259, 276, 2, Plat 187, Andok *frg.* 5.

⁴ See above, p 196, n 3.

⁵ Various situations, W 500, 1352f, Th 491, F 312, 519ff, 739f, Pl 46, 227f, 319f, frg 695, 645b.

⁶ ἀνδράποδα μισθοφοροῦντα, Isaios VIII, 35.

⁷ Kratinos 208, cf. Eupolis 197.

⁸ Eur *frg.* 142.

⁹ Eupolis 263.

to have attended the general festival of the Thesmophoria.¹ Plutarch once quotes a line from comedy in which 'the thick-legged grinding maid' is mentioned as taking part in processions and sacrifices.² We have also spoken of the part which slaves played when they went to Delphi along with their masters, just as slaves attended the Eleusinian Mysteries.³

Athens was no slaves' paradise. The fatalistic lament was true: 'Fate does not allow a slave to be master of his own person, but gives it to the man who has bought it.' But if we accept slavery with all its faults as we must, that is to say as a necessary institution and an important element in social and economic life, we must acknowledge that, on the whole, Athenian slaves were treated humanely — frequently, of course, because to do so was in the owner's own interest. Much depended on the individual master, much on the economic situation and activity of the slave. For what we have called the approximation to the standard of a citizen's life rested less on the patriarchal position in the household than on the economic opportunities open to the slave who worked as a skilled craftsman or trader. Both of these types, however, support the view that the organization of economic life at Athens was not based on slave-labour either wholly or even mainly. It is a mistake, although a very common one, to regard slavery in the ancient world indiscriminately in this light, whether in fifth-century Greece or in the Hellenistic world or in Rome. The economic importance of slaves in classical Athens was much smaller than is commonly assumed.⁴ Almost the only important exception

¹ Th. 294 — Th. 537, 609, 728, 739, 754

² adesp. 55. The latter statement is not in the quotation, only in Plutarch (*de vita sec. Epicuri decreta*, 1101F), but it seems unlikely that he would have quoted the line unless it referred to the point in question, that is to say that the maid actually took part in some sort of *προμπή* or *θύσις*. Cf. also A. 249, 259.

³ See page 177. There is no religious motive for Charon's refusal to ferry slaves (F. 190). This is invented for the sole purpose of having Xanthias removed from the stage, because Dionysos must row alone in order to become the farcical sufferer he is. Whether the actor who played the part of Xanthias had meanwhile to sing the song of the frogs, as Radermacher believes, is not beyond doubt, if only for reason of the necessary acoustic impression of the *Brekekekex Koax* which would suggest a choral song.

⁴ Pl. 6f.

⁵ Eur. *frag.* 1019: *δούλοισι γάρ τε ζῶμεν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι* must not be taken as a generally true statement, though it certainly reflected the position of part of the citizens.

is the position of the miners. Furthermore, in spite of their considerable number, slaves were never a problem to the population as a whole. Perhaps we may assume that the rise and fall in the numbers of citizens and slaves more or less kept pace with each other, and followed the general economic conditions of the country. The impoverishment which followed the Peloponnesian War was partly responsible for the fact that Attica, in spite of the loss of great numbers of citizens, avoided a dangerous surplus of slaves. Athens was never threatened by the problems and dangers of the Laconian helots. As far as we can see, Athenian economy was never dominated by slave-labour, and Athenian policy never influenced by the number or even the existence of slaves.¹

¹ The truth of this résumé on the part played by slave-labour in Greek economics has been challenged by some of my reviewers. I should like to quote the concluding sentences from the frequently mentioned paper by W. L. Westermann, the outstanding living expert on all questions of Greek slavery (*Athenian Studies for Ferguson*, 470): 'The slaves were employed at the same work as the free, usually side by side with them and apparently without prejudice or friction. In any sense which implies either that the enslaved population predominated over the free or that the Greek city-state displayed the mentality of a slave-ridden society, Greek culture was not founded upon slavery.'

CHAPTER VIII

FAMILY AND NEIGHBOURS

I

No State in the history of the world was ever such a close community as the Greek Polis. Politically it was organized not simply as the sum of its individual members, nor as a number of co-operating bodies which represented the several classes and professions. The State was subdivided into a gradation of communities to which each individual citizen was bound, and the State was the supreme unit formed out of these subdivisions. We have to deal with these smaller and narrower communities which were, all of them, embedded in the greater whole of the State. We have to speak of the relations of the individual to his family, kinsfolk and neighbours. Hitherto our picture of Athenian life and of the Athenian citizen body has been concerned with its various social and economic functions. We are left with the task of inquiring into the general and common nature of the Athenian people; and a study of the smaller communities, especially those of house and family, can best take us the first steps towards that goal.

The comic poets stage their scenes in the street, in the country, in Hades or in the air, but never inside a house. Nevertheless, we are given some glimpses of life as it was lived there, less by the use of the *ekkyklema* than by the words of the characters on the stage. Almost without exception, they belong to the upper or lower middle-class. In fifth-century comedy we hear almost nothing about life in the houses of the great lords or indeed the rich upstarts. We may almost welcome this lack of evidence. For our main interest is to disclose the outlines of ordinary everyday life, and it is this which is revealed in comedy.

The house is the home of the family, that is to say, above all, of husband and wife. It is not surprising that the comedians sometimes share the attitude of misogyny to which Greek writers had for a long time given expression in fairly strong terms. However, it would be as wrong to accept as absolute

truth all the accusations made in the *Thesmophoriazousai* of adultery and even the murder of husbands, procuring, love of drink and gossip,¹ as to accept as real the ideal figures of Lysistrata and Praxagora, and their claims about women. The words attributed to Susarion, according to tradition the earliest of the comedians, in fact repeat only the commonplace that women are a necessary evil, and that getting married is as bad as not getting married.² When we try to interpret the social significance of such misogynic remarks, we may assume that they mostly originated among the upper classes. There paederasty was legitimate, and it easily went hand in hand with hostility to women.³ Never since the days of Hesiod, in spite of occasional anti-feminine utterances, had the urban and rural middle-classes shared these views.

Nobody but a real misanthrope was said to live without wife and child.⁴ Marriage was very rarely the result of a love-affair. Match-makers were always busy, and succeeded in bringing together even couples of vastly different social origin.⁵ In tragedy men are frequently advised to marry a girl from a good family, but Euripides speaks also of the disappointments and dangers of a marriage 'above one's station'.⁶ The daughter had to marry early, for women outgrew marriageable age more quickly than men.⁷ When a girl has just become 'fledged', she is apt to 'fly at men', but generally she had to accept for a husband any man whom her father might choose, if he was dead, she had to marry the next of kin or a man chosen by him, while he had to get the consent of the court.⁸ She was normally given a dowry by her father, the ancient custom of buying a bride had disappeared.⁹ As a bride the grown-up girl took part in social life for the first time.¹⁰ At the wedding, the *gamelia*, which all

¹ Especially Th 335ff, 389ff, 471ff, 559ff

² Susarion 1 Cf also L 1039, Pherekr. 39 P = 22 D It is hardly necessary to mention Euripides' misogynic utterances, although they are by no means so uniform and so radical as Aristophanes in the *Thesmophoriazousai* tries to make us believe

³ Kratinos 152 ⁴ Phryn 19 ⁵ C. 41ff.

⁶ e.g., Eur. *Andr* 619ff, 1279ff — Eur *El* 1097ff, *frg.* 502f, 16 P, 4f

⁷ L. 593ff Cf. Isaios VI, 14, Xen. *oik.* 7, 5.

⁸ *frg.* 582 — W 583ff, Eur. *Andr.* 987ff, *frg.* 953 This is confirmed by many passages in the Orators, in particular Andokides I, 119ff

⁹ Eur *Med* 232f, *Hipp* 625ff, *frg.* 775.

¹⁰ Cf. *adesp Arch f. Pap* VII, 144, where, however, the bride is allegorical.

the family, phraters and friends attended, after the bride's bath, a good dinner was served, aphrodisiac hymns were sung, and the young couple, crowned with garlands and anointed with perfumes, ate together the wedding-cake, and were pelted with sweets.¹ Happy mothers lit the torch in the wedding-chamber.² Thus marriage was an important event for men and women, though certainly more so for the latter, and Hera, the wife of the chief of the gods, 'kept the keys of wedlock'.³

References to married life are infrequent, but it becomes clear that mutual attachment was often strong. With all his attacks on women and marriage, even Euripides frequently praises the blessings of a happy marriage, or — from a man's point of view — of a good wife.⁴ Pheidippides was entirely mistaken in thinking that his father would be quite glad to learn that he was proposing to beat his mother, and it was just this which precipitated matters.⁵ Sexual relations bound married couples together 'I give you Phaidra here as wife, for I believe fire is going to join fire.'⁶ Since it was usual to speak openly of all intercourse with hetaerae, most likely the poet refers to married love when he says that 'the pleasures of love are sweet to experience, but not good to be spoken of'.⁷ A great many jokes and comic situations, some crude enough, depend upon the sexual intercourse of married people. An old man was naturally considered 'a shame for a young wife', unless she was going to play the master's role.⁸ Moderation in sexual love, on the other hand, was regarded as typical of a decent wife.⁹ Marriage as the legitimate form of sexual intercourse, though grotesquely distorted, is also the presupposition of the whole plot of the *Lysistrata*: men, refused

¹ Isaos III, 76, 79, VI, 10, 64, VIII, 20 — P 843, 868, L 378 — P 1195f, Archipp. 9-12 (although this is the glutton Herakles' wedding-feast) — Pherekr 12 D — P 859ff, Pl 529 — B 159ff, Theop 14 — Cf also Megara's description of her imminent death as a wedding festival (Eur. *Her* 480ff)

² Eur. *Phoin* 344ff, cf *Alk* 317

³ Th 976.

⁴ Cf *Alkestis*, also *Herakles*, besides *Med* 14f, *Hipp* 836ff, *frag.* 164, 463, 822-3, 909, 1055-8, 1062

⁵ C. 1443ff.

⁶ *frag* 453

⁷ Krates 2 D

⁸ *frag* 600, cf Eur. *frag* 317. — Th 413, cf E 323f

⁹ Eur. *Iph A* 1159 While the supreme power and tyranny of Kypris and Eros re a theme on which Euripides harps again and again, 'bed-gluttonness' and φιλαδρᾶ are Andromache's charges against Hermione (*Andr* 218ff, 229), and Euripides' repeated exhortations to women to be σώφρονες are chiefly directed against such lack of sexual moderation

by women, suffer severely, only in his last despair does the man resort to procurers and the brothel.¹ Matrimonial scandals seem to have been rare, or they were at least rarely made public in Athens, though many of the young roués, who are so often shown up by comedy, paid court especially to married women, and sarcastic references to adulterous wives are frequent.² We are told that the adulterer is as necessary to women as the dessert to a meal.³ Possibly, Phaidra's statement that women of noble origin were the first to commit adultery does not only refer to mythological stories, but also confirms the fact that these things happened less frequently in the middle than in the upper classes. What Andokides tells us about Kallias' union with two women, daughter and mother, and the scandalous happenings in his house, seem to have been somewhat exceptional, although Aristophanes also alludes to it.⁴ The sufferings of the cutler Panaitios were known only by the peculiar agreement which he concluded with his wife, in the presence of witnesses, in order to be safe from her love-frenzy.⁵ Sometimes, women were corrupted by other women,⁶ though we never hear of homosexual relations between them. On the whole, if we take into full account the character of our evidence, we may assume that Athenian women were not particularly licentious, and adultery on their part was not more, perhaps even less, frequent than in other societies which can be compared.

It was the privilege of Alkibiades, not only when hardly yet 'a man' to be 'the man' of all the women, but later to take hetaerae into his house while his wife was at home.⁷ Apart from such an extreme case, a husband's adultery was rarely taken seriously.⁸ Neither in comedy nor in the forensic speeches is it ever of any importance. Only Euripides, who knew more about female psychology than any of his contemporaries, pictures the effects on a woman of her husband's

¹ L 957f. It seems, on the other hand, that the use of the *olubos* was not infrequent, although regarded as a poor substitute (L 109, frg 320, 13, adesp. 5 D = 44 P). There is also the evidence of a few vase-paintings, cf. A. Körte, *P.-W.* XVII, 2480ff.

² B 793ff — P. 979ff, Th. *passim*, E 225, cf. Eur. *El* 921ff, Lysias I, III, 23.

³ frg 187.

⁴ Eur. *Hipp* 409f — Andok. I, 124ff, B. 286

⁵ B. 439ff and schol.

⁶ Eur. *Hipp*. 407ff — *Andr.* 944ff. Cf. the part of the nurse in *Hipp*

⁷ Pherekr. 155 — Ps.-Andok. IV, 14

⁸ Cf. Eur. *El*. 1035ff.

Dikaiopolis concludes his private peace for himself, but also for his children and his wife who 'is near to him'.¹ Wife and children were the usual weeping pleaders in court.² Mnesilochos, who longs for his wife while he is a prisoner, afterwards hurries home 'to wife and children';³ a man swears 'by wife and children'; it is of course a joke, when Dionysos, who has neither, does so.⁴ Chremylos introduces Ploutos to his wife and only son, while his friend pictures his future wealthy life along with wife and children.⁵ A husband gets up in the night and prepares a medicine when his wife is in pain.⁶ The parents see that their young children get their meals at the proper time.⁷ Strepsiades claims to have nursed his baby son, and he spent the first obol of his juror's payment on a toy for him.⁸ Trygaios is an equally affectionate father who promises sweets to his little daughters, while the poor old judge needs his 'small pay' to maintain his family of three, and therefore cannot buy figs for his child.⁹ In one traditional custom or another a boy might be valued more highly than a girl,¹⁰ but there is no sign of this in the feelings of the parents. The father is proud of his grown-up daughter, and allows her to kiss the money out of his mouth.¹¹ One would kiss a small child by holding it by its ears as by handles.¹² Love of children appears in such sentences as this. 'The sun obeys the children, when they say: Rise, dear sun!', or in the poets' descriptions of a game played by boys in the street and of other games.¹³ A number of vase-paintings confirm this interest in children and children's games.¹⁴

Affection for his family did not prevent a man from dining and drinking with his friends, and from kissing the maid when the mistress was out of the way.¹⁵ We have emphasized in various previous passages the great freedom which men usually enjoyed in sexual matters. It may also have happened fre-

¹ A.131f. This is the meaning of the word *πλῆστις* used here for the wife

² Pl 382ff

³ Th 1021, 1205f

⁴ F 587.

⁵ Pl 250, 613ff

⁶ Th 486.

⁷ frg 347

⁸ C 1382ff, 863f

⁹ P 122f — W 297ff.

¹⁰ Cf E.549

¹¹ A 253ff, Eur *Hek.* 1101ff — W.606

¹² Eunikos 1 Such a kiss was therefore called *χῦτρον*

¹³ Strattis 46 — Plat. 153 — K 855 (with Neil's explanation), W 2951, Kratinos 415, Telekl 1, 14.

¹⁴ Cf L. Deubner, *Die Antike*, VI (1930), 162ff, also his *Attische Feste*.

¹⁵ A 271ff, P.113off

quently that a widower, though he was getting old, manumitted a pretty girl and made her his legal concubine, much to the displeasure of his children.¹ Isaios, in a very amusing and characteristic way, describes an old man who was entirely under the thumb of a hetaera.² A son might even buy or hire a hetaera in order to sweeten the evening of his father's life.³ It was not rare for a man to live with a hetaera — Isokrates, for example, with Lagiska.⁴ Concubinage, at least with a free woman, was a legal union protected, as we have seen, by law against intruders. A citizen could give his daughter or sister into concubinage.⁵ If a hetaera had become mistress of a house, it might easily lead to trouble and the house might be ruled very differently from one in which there was a legal wife.⁶ A man could send his concubine away to a brothel,⁷ an action which seems cruel and beastly; it becomes less so when we learn what the comedians have to say of the possible dangers — real or imagined — from such a woman. The 'lecherous goat' could be at the same time a drunkard and a poisoner, and it can easily be understood that some men — if not for moral reasons, at least from motives of prudence — preferred a wife about the house to a poisoner.⁸ The fear of being poisoned was, it seems, frequent and genuine. Women were supposed to be favourite customers of those who traded in drugs, particularly in love-potions.⁹

¹ W 1352f, cf Plat 178

² Isaios VI, 19ff Cf Plate XVb

³ W 738ff, cf Xen *oik* 1, 13

⁴ P 439f — Strattis 3 (παλλακήν)

⁵ Isaios III, 39

⁶ Isaios III, 13f

⁷ Antiphon I, 14

⁸ Pherekr 17 D — Plat 28 D = 43 P Page reads (with Schubart and Wilamowitz, *Berl. Klassikertexte* V, 2, 123) γυναικα κρ[ε]ίσσον ἐστ' ἐν οἰκίᾳ [ἢ φαρμακίτα]ς τῶν παρ' Εὐδήμου τρέφειν, and translates 'It is better to keep a wife at home, than antidotes bought from Eudemos' It is true that this man was known as a seller of drugs and magic rings (Pl 884, Eupolis 87, Ameipsias 27), but how can any drug be contrasted with a man's wife — quite apart from the difficult zeugma of τρέφειν? The fragment seems to make sense only if we read with earlier editors φαρμακίδας 'Those from Eudemos' are the people who have either learned their art or got their drugs from him The expression is odd, but it could be supported by ὁ δὲ μετ' Εὐδήμου τρέχων in Kratinos 299 — unfortunately itself rather an obscure fragment A more serious difficulty is that φαρμακίδας does not scan. Thus, perhaps, the right restoration of the fragment has not yet been found

⁹ Cf Antiphon I, also Eur *Hipp* 478ff, 509ff, *Andr* 32ff, 157ff, 205ff, 272, 355ff, *frag.* 464. — The preparation of real medicines, however, was, as it seems, in the hands of men (Th.486, E.404ff, Pl.716ff).

We do not learn very much about the usual number of children in a family. To bear children was woman's natural function, even the most beloved wife was 'a child-bearing consort', children were considered part of a man's wealth, and childlessness often led to marital trouble and divorce.¹ Sometimes a woman 'bought a child' and pretended that it was her own.² The frequent lawsuits about inheritance and the many adoptions prove that the mortality of children was fairly high. In the pains of childbirth a woman could be advised to be patient and not to despair, but Medea thought she would rather go three times to battle than have one child.³ A mother was supposed to help her daughter in her childbed.⁴ There existed also a special medicine to make childbirth easier.⁵ If we find a family with only one son, this may have sometimes been due to reasons of dramaturgic economy, for instance for the sake of contrasting father and son, as in the *Wasps* and the *Clouds*. On the other hand, the poor farmer Chremylos, following Hesiod's old prescription, has only one son, because he cannot afford more children, and, as he says, does not love even this only child so much as wealth.⁶ Nevertheless, Hermes assumes as a matter of course that there are several children in the house.⁷ It is hard to say how far voluntary limitation went in regard to the number of children. The primitive method of birth-control by exposing new-born children 'in an earthen crock' could still be used and was not regarded as criminal.⁸

The mutual love of parents and children is a natural fact which can be destroyed by extraordinary circumstances only, whether these are of a personal or a general character. On the whole this is more a theme of tragedy than of comedy. The mother's loving care for her offspring, the father's proud love of his children, the children's devoted love for their parents — all these appear in Euripides' plays. He also speaks of the grief over the death of children, of the sorry fate of orphans, of the evil of having a stepmother.⁹ But from comedy too we may, for instance, infer that a good son tried to make his

¹ Eur. *Andr.* 4 δάμαρ παιδοποιός — P 132off. — Eur. *Andr.* 904ff

² Th 339f, 407ff, 502f, 564f, Telekl. 41, 2, Eur. *Alk.* 638f.

³ Plat. 5 D — Eur. *Med.* 250f

⁴ Eur. *Alk.* 318f.

⁵ frg 872

⁶ Hesiod, *Erge* 376 — Pl 35, 250ff.

⁷ Pl. 1104.

⁸ F 1189f and schol. Cf. A. Cameron, *Cl. Rev.* 46 (1932), 106

⁹ Eur. *Hek.* 1120ff, 1132ff, frg 4

father's old age easy and pleasant, and that the worst thing Pheidippides could do was to threaten his father and even his mother with a beating.¹ Mothers claim that they know best how to take care of their soldier sons.² A son who left his father's house is aware of his indebtedness to his father for bringing him up.³ To honour one's parents was one of the fundamental commandments of Greek ethics, and in tragedy particularly there are many examples of the fulfilment or the claims of that duty. On the other hand, it is known that in general 'guardians and relatives' did not take much care of an old man, and a son sometimes behaved in the same way towards his father.⁴ However, family feeling and love of children were strong among the Athenians, and that could not have been the case unless women were highly esteemed in their role of wife, mother and housekeeper. This ideal of woman culminates in the absurd housewifely perfection of Ischomachos' 'dear little impulsive wife' in Xenophon's *Oikonomikos*.⁵ Tender and gentle feelings for wife and children have found a more adequate representation, more beautiful and also more eloquent than in comedy, in the lovely family-scenes of vase-paintings and the touching sadness of gravestones and white lekythoi (see Plate XVI).⁶

It was, of course, something of a hindrance to family life that men's normal life, much more than in our northern countries, took place outside the house. Frequently the man spent the whole day in the market, in court or assembly.⁷ By serving in court he earned his and his family's living, and it was often the man who went to the market and did the necessary shopping.⁸

This, however, was not always the case. For a larger household a slave, who could be called the 'caterer', made the purchases, and even a citizen of limited means might have a slave-girl who went regularly to the market.⁹ Another man found fault with his wife, when she came back tired from a women's

¹ W.738ff — C 1443ff

² E 233f

³ adesp. 371

⁴ W 731f

⁵ Cf. T. R. Glover, *Greek Byways*, 159

⁶ Cf. also the charming book by E. Buschor, *Grab eines attischen Mädchens* (1939).

⁷ E 62ff

⁸ W 303ff, E.460ff — W 493f, B.501ff, L.560, frg 545, Plat 190, 193

⁹ ὀψώνης, frg. 503, Pherekr. 126. — Lysias I, 8; 16.

festival, and had bought neither fish nor meat.¹ As a rule the ladies only used to go for walks, carrying their veils, baskets and parasols, spinning and talking, and nearly always accompanied by a maid.² With the lower classes things were, of course, somewhat different. Families helped each other out; there was a great deal of lending and borrowing of household utensils, and other help of this kind.³ Women met and gossiped — as they do everywhere — at the springs or streams where they washed their linen.⁴ When a child was born, several women-friends at once came to offer their help, expecting to be given a present, especially if the child was a boy.⁵ One of Aristophanes' comedies had the title *Women under Canvas* or *Women who took their Seats*, they were probably spectators at a procession or at games, and one of them had brought with her a big wine-bottle as a 'fellow spectator'.⁶ It is unlikely, as we have seen, that women attended the performances in the theatre.⁷ However, women had many and quite legitimate opportunities for getting out of the house.

And yet, we must not underestimate the extent of women's bondage to the house, though it has certainly often been exaggerated.⁸ Women and girls, and not only those of the well-to-do families, spent most of their life indoors; the brother kept a severe eye on his sister, it was at a funeral or at similar rare occasions that a woman could be seen by other men, hardly any woman was used to speak in the presence of men.⁹ Even in small houses a separate part was set aside for the women, usually on the upper floor, not easily accessible and

¹ fig. 318.

² Th.279ff, 821ff, cf L 530ff, F 1346ff.

³ F.1159, E.446ff, fig 136

⁴ Eur *Hipp* 125ff

⁵ E 528ff, 549

⁶ fig. 471ff Σκηνὸς Καταλαμβάνουσαι The same meaning of σκηνὴν καταλαμβάνειν is found P 880, where it refers to the Isthmian games The seats in theatre are never called σκηναί

⁷ Cf. p. 27, n 2

⁸ Cf Gomme's excellent chapter, 89ff, and my remarks in *Aspects of the Ancient World*, 65f. A curious mistake made by Gomme as well as by his opponents is that they always regard the social rule that keeps women at home as inevitably combined with a general contempt for women Although to some extent confined to the house, a woman was, as we shall find confirmed in comedy as well as tragedy, highly thought of if she was a good wife, mother and keeper of the house.

⁹ L 473, Th 414f, 790ff — Th 405f, cf Lysias III, 6 — Lysias I, 8 The lovers in New Comedy frequently meet at festivals or processions — Lysias XXXII, 11

sometimes locked up by a strong door.¹ The avarice of Aiolos is shown by the fact that his six daughters share one bedroom and one bath-tub.² Women had pale complexions, unlike men who, in streets and market, in palaestra and assembly, often even in the workshop, lived in the open air.³ If a hetaera lived in a man's house, she was present at dinner even when other men were present, but a wife never appeared; nor was a wife serenaded; men did not quarrel or behave foolishly about her.⁴ In general, this is the picture we should expect to find in a society so predominantly masculine as Greek society was. The countless suggestions in comedy of women's love of drink, however much exaggerated, cannot have been without some real basis, wine might be a consolation in their frequent loneliness. Women seldom knew other men by sight, and they had to make excuses more or less every time they left the house.⁵ 'It is hard for women to get out'.⁶

What we have found out from comedy about the social position of women, follows a middle line between the extremes; it is not refuted by the important part played by women as characters in some of the comedies. On the contrary, the portraits of Lysistrate and Praxagora get their full brilliance only by their complete contrast with the background of women's everyday life. Its seclusion is a fact confirmed by overwhelming evidence from Euripides, that is to say from the poet who is generally regarded as the champion of the emancipation of women, and whose Medea, Phaedra and Hekabae have strongly influenced Aristophanes when he drew his great women. Yet it is frequently stressed in Euripides' tragedies that women ought to be silent, not to argue with men, not to speak first, not to speak with strangers.⁷ Even the old queen Aithra has to excuse herself when she is about to express her views: if a woman has something of value to say, it is better for her to break her silence.⁸ It is against good manners if a woman looks straight into a man's face; it is, in fact, usual for

¹ Th 414f, Lysias I, 9, III, 6, *frag.* 14, Xen *oik* 9, 5, cf D S Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture* (1943²), 297

² *frag.* 6

³ E 385ff — Xen *mem* I, 1, 10, II, 1, 6

⁴ Isaios III, 13f Cf also Eur *Ba* 384f, and Winnington-Ingram, *Euripides and Dionysus*, 62, 2

⁵ L 836ff

⁶ L 16

⁷ Eur. *Herakl* 476f, *Andr* 364f, *Her* 534f, *El* 341ff, *Iph A* 830

⁸ *Hik.* 294, 297ff, cf also *Tro* 903f, *Hel* 1049

a lady to be veiled.¹ Sensible women are supposed to excel in 'the works of Athena', and to let men act for them.² Worst of all is it to speak to a crowd, or even only to watch a gathering of men; women ought to remain inside the house.³ All these restrictions are even more emphatically imposed on unmarried girls who should not be seen at all outside, and least of all among the crowds of an army.⁴ A maiden also usually wears a veil, and it can be regarded as unmaidenly — even in a moment of threatening death — to perform the usual gesture of a suppliant by claspings a man's knee.⁵ There is an almost Victorian touch about it when we hear that girls must not know of their marriage beforehand nor talk about adulterous love-affairs.⁶ How weak against this chorus of public opinion seems, for instance, Medea's cry for a more dignified status for women! Why, we ask, did Euripides testify to such an extent to those narrow views generally held? The only reasonable answer seems to be that he had to do so in order to make his unusual mythical situations as well as his outstanding female characters as real and convincing as possible. In Euripides as in comedy we can trace the realistic background of the plays, and as in comedy it is this background which gives increased brilliance to the great individual women on the stage.⁸

On the other hand, if a woman's life was restricted and ruled by strong conventions, it was by no means useless. Above all, the management of the household — that is to say, of a large part of a man's property — was in the hands of the wife.⁹ The importance of the wife and mother in the life of the family and the maintenance of the house was widely recognized.¹⁰ 'No house is clean or prosperous if the wife is absent.'¹¹ The view

¹ *Hek* 974f, *frg* 12 P, 227ff

² *Hek* 1061f — 40f

³ *Hek* 1066, *Iph A* 187ff — *Andr* 876f, *Tro* 648ff, *frg* 521

⁴ *Ph* 88ff, 92ff, 193ff, 1275f, *Or* 108

⁵ *Ph* 1485ff, *Iph A* 992ff

⁶ *Iph A* 671, *E'* 945ff, *Or* 26

⁷ *Med* 230ff, cf also 419f, 429f

⁸ The reality of the background is confirmed by the fact that it needed a period of continuous lawlessness and the terror of an unbridled and licentious soldiery to create conditions in which 'women were seen without veils (γυμνός) by crowds' (*Isokr. epist.* 9, 10, written in 356 B.C.)

⁹ *L* 495, 894f, *E* 211f, *frg* 328, cf *Lysias* 1, 7, *Xen. oik.* 7, 23ff

¹⁰ Cf *Eur. Alk* 415, 825, *Iph A* 1159f, *frg* 13 P, 5ff, *frg* 822f

¹¹ *Eur* 13 P, 6f.

could be expressed that women alone are able to look after the money, for 'where men rule the money belongs to the State'.¹ Naturally voices could often be heard clamouring for the supremacy of the husband and protesting against any 'dyarchy', although it was hardly possible in real life for the husband to lock up the pantry.² The law introduced by the women's government which allowed no man to dispose freely of more than one medimnos may reflect the fact that the reverse was in fact true and that women depended on their husbands for support.³

Women's chief tasks in the house, apart from looking after the children and managing the servants, were cooking and baking, spinning and weaving, and, besides these, the preparation and dyeing of wool (see Plate XI*a*).⁴ Nevertheless they are said to have found time, while their husbands were out, to anoint themselves and to lie in the sun, though here the situation is due to the plot, and this was hardly a common practice.⁵ Of course, clothes and cosmetics, even a razor, jewellery and perfumes, all these 'man traps', played an important part in a woman's life (see Plate XVII*a*).⁶ Clothes were kept in large boxes (see Plate XVII*b*), and a certain kind of fruit was put in to give a pleasant scent.⁷

Houses were, in general, very simple. The steps leading to the upper floor were often dangerous, a ladder rather than a staircase.⁸ When a good meal was being got ready, the whole house was filled with smoke; in a poor cottage everything was black and dirty with it.⁹ Utensils of gold and silver are often mentioned, so are bolsters and cushions; but, on the whole, very little was done to make conditions hygienic and comfortable.¹⁰ Vermin were not altogether unknown, but they were more of a nuisance in inns; in the *Clouds* they belong to the

¹ adesp 519

² Eur *El* 930ff, *frg* 463 — *Andr* 464ff. — Th 418ff, E.14f, cf adesp 710

³ E 1024f

⁴ L 18f — E.221ff, *frg* 9 D, *Pherekr* 22, and elsewhere — L 735f, E 653f, *Eupolis* 319 — E 89, 215f, *frg* 651

⁵ E 62ff

⁶ In general, see, e.g., L 42ff, 150f, 408ff, E 524f, 732, *frg* 17, 320, 632, cf Eur. *Hipp.* 630ff, *Lysias* I, 14, 17, *Xen oik.* 10, 2, *symp* 2, 3f — *Razor* Th 218f, E.65f. — *Man traps frg* 666

⁷ W 1055f, cf *frg.* 695, *Pherekr* 122, *Eupolis* 76.

⁸ *Lysias*, I, 9

⁹ Pl.819ff. — Eur *El*. 1139f

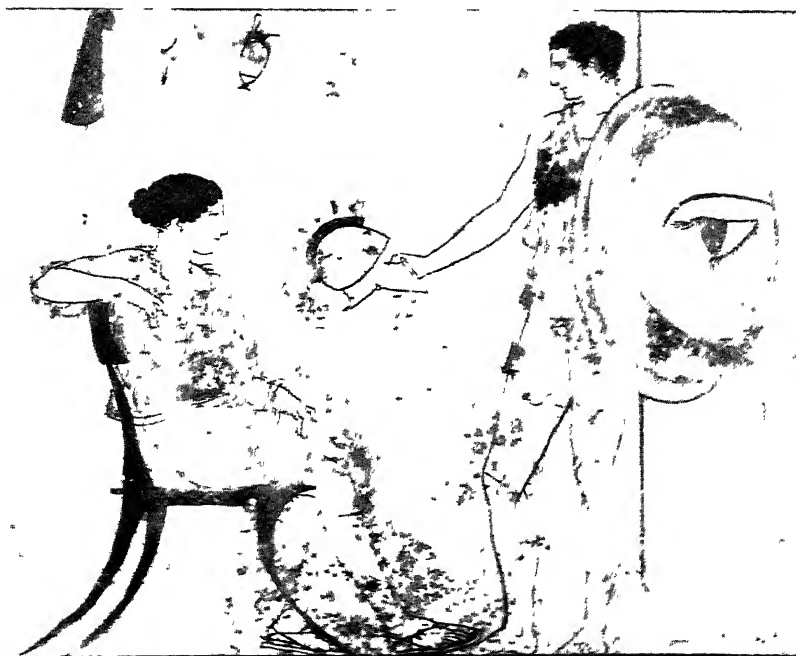
¹⁰ *frg* 19 — E 347, 1059ff



a



b



c

FAMILY LIFE

plot and are not to be taken as a feature of normal life.¹ Dogs and cocks roamed about house and kitchen, and the pig-pen could be inside the house.² On the other hand, many houses, though chiefly those of the well-to-do, had a bathroom.³ We also hear of many different kinds of utensils and crockery in house and kitchen, securing a certain amount of domestic comfort and culture.⁴ Often several families were living together in a block of houses or a tenement-house.⁵ On the other hand, houses could be classed according to the number of their couches; that did not mean beds, but places in the dining-room.⁶ Perikles' large and asymmetrically shaped head could thus be called a head of 'eleven couches'.⁷ Sanitary accommodation was often provided inside the house, usually by a sort of night-stool.⁸ It could be said of a rich man that his house was so full that there was not even a small space left to 'ease one's self'.⁹ Frequently the yard, where a primitive latrine might be found, or a small by-street, was used for such purposes.¹⁰ The streets were usually muddy and dirty, especially after rain, and dirty water was thrown from the window into the street.¹¹

These houses were the place where the women lived. There is hardly any evidence of Athenian women taking up a profession; women who were innkeepers, bread-sellers and the like, were generally metics or occasionally very poor people of Athenian origin. Certainly, Euripides' mother had never been a greengrocer. Attempts were made to secure some emancipation for women, and we may see them reflected, perhaps not in the ridiculous women's State in the *Ekklesiazousai*, but in

¹ F 114f. — C 37, 144ff, 634, 699, 706ff

² W 836ff, frg 18 — W 844, cf L. 1073, Pl. 1106, Eupolis 453, Phryn 43.

³ W 141, cf L 336f — Houses of the rich even with γυμνάσια καὶ λουτρά καὶ ἀποδυτήρια Ps-Xen II, 10

⁴ It seems unnecessary to cite the many passages in comedy in which a great variety of utensils is mentioned

⁵ συνοικίαι, K 1001, Th 273, Ps-Xen I, 17, Thuc III, 74, 2

⁶ Phryn 66

⁷ Telekl 44

⁸ τὰ λάσανα, E 1062 (cf 347, 371), frg 462, Kratinos 49, Pherekr 88, Eupolis 224, Plat 116. A most necessary utensil was, of course, the frequently mentioned αἶψις

⁹ adesp 491

¹⁰ K 888f, P 98ff, 157f, 164f, Th 484ff, E 313ff, 1059ff, cf P 123c

¹¹ W 248, 254ff, 259 — A 616f, frg 306

the much more sincere and serious phrases of the *Lysistrata*¹ In this play, indeed, though women of all types are depicted, Lysistrata herself is a woman of true genius, character and independence, and we may well conclude from her personality that Kimon's sister Elpinike or the Milesian Aspasia were not the only women in Athens who met men on their own level, both personally and socially. But if such women did not stand alone, they were nevertheless exceptional² That unity among women of which Euripides sometimes speaks — although he also knows of their pleasure in talking evil of one another — is little more than a natural mutual sympathy and allied opposition to man.³ What emancipation there was, did not touch the female sex as a whole and its position in society. It is stated and at the same time made a matter of reproach that in the tragedies of Euripides women of every age, as well as slaves, had full freedom of speech, like men and masters⁴ That is to say, Euripides represents them as individuals and in a more realistic way than older tragedy From the passages previously mentioned we can conclude that Aristophanes' voice was only one in a general chorus, and that Euripides fully realized the weight of public opinion against free speech for women. The main burden, however, of the women's grievances against Euripides is that he shows up their failings and brings distrust and enmity into married life⁵ No doubt, in these reproaches there is revealed both the poet's discriminating psychology and the general movement towards the emancipation of women, such as was the natural outcome of an age of rationalist 'enlightenment'. Aristophanes, however, speaks mainly of the gossip, drunken and immoral ways of women.⁶ Although Euripides sometimes talks about the clever woman, the 'learned woman' had not yet come into existence; comedy is not likely to have missed the opportunity of depicting her.⁷ It remains significant that Perikles, who was not exactly conservative, either in his views or in his way of life, is said to have declared that a woman should not be spoken of among men, either in praise or in blame.⁸ Little more than the first steps had been taken towards women's emancipation

¹ L 507ff² Eur *Hel* 329, 830, *frg* 108 — *Ph* 198ff³ F 949f⁴ See especially Th 384ff⁵ e.g., Th 392ff, 4-6ff⁶ Woman as σοφή, e.g., Eur *Hipp* 640, *Andr* 213f⁷ Thuc II, 45, 2

The allusions in comedy do in fact suggest that there was a certain competition between husband and wife for the management of house and family. This implies a desire in women for equality of personal, not of course of social or even political, rights. There is also some connection between this development and the first appearance of books dealing theoretically with the management of the household, with *oikonomia*, as a scientific profession.¹ Such books, however, tend to embody the demands and the programme of their writers, and therefore do not give a picture of real everyday life. That, as we have seen, had essentially different features

2

The relation between parents and children should be discussed also on a wider basis, as the relation between two generations. Old age and youth are naturally opposed, and this opposition has always and everywhere been consciously acknowledged by mankind, though in different ways and degrees.² 'Palaestras for old men' are unknown outside comedy, but the view that the old men represented a better and stronger generation than the dissipated youth was no doubt widely maintained.³ To be sure, when old men are rejuvenated — as might happen either by a miracle or through the influence of a young bride — they are like merry children out to steal bread.⁴ Frequently the youthfulness of the old was only senile childishness, as it is expressed in the saying: 'Old age is second childhood', while it is something different when an old man wishes that people might be twice young and twice old in order to correct their mistakes and put things straight in their second life.⁵ This is an application of the trivial truth that only the actions of the young and the counsels of the old are valuable;⁶ but

¹ F 974ff. For *oikonomia* as an *ἐπιστήμη*, cf. Xen. *Sik* 1, 1. 2, 12 6, 4; *mem* III, 4, 7ff. Cf. also Radermacher, 284.

² Cf. Pherekr. 146.

³ *frg* 715 — W 1066ff, Eur. *Hipp* 937ff, *Herakl* 325ff.

⁴ K 1321ff, P 680ff — *frg* 125.

⁵ *δὶς πάλιν γέρον*, C 1417, Kratinos 24, Theop. 69 — Eur. *Hik* 1080ff.

⁶ Eur. *frg* 508. Thus Nikias admonishes the older generation not to be ashamed of opposing the younger people in their 'ill-starred craving for things beyond their reach' (Thuc. VI, 13, 1), while Alkibiades (VI, 18, 6) pleads for the collaboration of old and young.

behind the commonplaces and the jokes we easily discern the opinion that age and youth are incompatible. This again is an obvious truth, and it remains true although 'the old' are not necessarily old in our sense of the word. The Greeks had no word for middle-aged people of either sex. While we normally think of three generations alive at the same time, the Greeks talk of two only. It is the contrast of these that naturally concerns everybody, but in many cases creates no problem at all. It is most likely to become a problem where the bonds are closest and strongest, that is between parents and children.

It has been shown that the relation between father and son was a stock motif of comedy almost from its beginnings; it appears again and again, and in New Comedy it has become one of the paramount motifs of the plot.¹ It will be wiser, just because of its frequency, not to over-estimate the significance of the actual problem, nor to consider it as especially characteristic of our period. The rivalry, for instance, between father and son for the love of the same girl is simply a typical comic situation.² On the other hand, the very fact that the relation between father and son became a typical feature of comedy, shows that a question of general importance is touched upon here. Each age will view this question in a new and different light. The relations between the generations do not always imply opposition and struggle. We may say that in general the opposition grows stronger in proportion to the extent to which change and revolution, internal as well as external, are characteristic of the age.

On one occasion Aristophanes says of an ungrateful son: 'You don't provide for your father being clothed' — a remark which, of course, reveals the son's general, not only this particular, obligation.³ It is somewhat surprising that elsewhere it seems to be a question of real importance whether a son is allowed to beat his father. In the *Clouds* the son, in spite, or perhaps because, of his sophistic arguments, is proved entirely in the wrong.⁴ In the *Birds*, on the other hand, the parricide, though moved to stop beating and indeed killing his father, is not maltreated as the other rascals are who come to Cloud-cuckooborough; his eagerness to beat someone turns him into

¹ Cf F Wehrli, *Motivstudien zur griech. Komödie*, 56f

² Pherekr. 71-73

³ frg 17 D

⁴ C 1409ff, Cf Heinemann, *Nomos u. Physis* (1945), 122

a good soldier.¹ The grotesque right of the birds to beat their fathers is contrasted with the duty of feeding the old ones.² In the *Frogs* the beating of mother and father ranks with crimes like perjury and offences against hospitality, but it seems to have been no less frequent.³ We must ask the meaning of all this outside the realm of mere caricature

At first sight, the whole thing seems to have been little more than an attempt to prove the monstrous nature of all this breaking of family bonds, and thus to reduce it to absurdity. However, there is perhaps something more in it than that. The parricide's desires are prompted by pure avarice,⁴ and money plays the leading part also in the quarrel between Strepsades and Pheidippides. To 'throttle' the father, in a financial sense of course, is typical of the 'sons of our times'.⁵ The law grants the father the right to expel his son from the community of the family, on the other hand, in case of mental infirmity, it allows the father to be declared incapable of managing his affairs and the son to take over the whole property.⁶ We recall the story of how the old Sophokles was accused by his sons. It seems that both procedures had become frequent by the last decades of the fifth century.⁷ In comedy more drastic methods are used. The whole motif is both primitive and burlesque, and it is difficult to take it seriously, though there is doubtless some real background to it. It reflects not only avarice, which played an important part, but also a more profound hostility which was due to different methods of training and education.

In earlier times boys were taught by a teacher, and men by poets. In the *Frogs*, Euripides, being both a poet and a sophist, still approves of this arrangement which is set forth by Aischylos.⁸ Everything, however, had been changed by the teaching of the sophists who were chiefly interested in political and forensic rhetoric. Older men now frequently saw themselves disregarded by the modern young men. 'The lads

¹ B 1337ff

² B 757ff, 1347ff - 1355ff

³ F 146ff

⁴ B.1352

⁵ E 638f

⁶ C 844ff

⁷ Early evidence for the former action, the ἀποκρήσις, is scanty, but seems certain. In general, cf J. H. Lipsius, *Attisches Recht u. Rechtsverfahren*, 355f, 502ff, S. Luria, *Aegyptus*, VII (1926). 268

⁸ F 1054f

get up and speak before the men.¹ The older men, when entangled in lawsuits by the 'young orators', are helpless against their new methods and sophistic cleverness, and this is the reason why the comedian proposes to introduce separate courts for old and young men.² The old jurymen, on the other hand, have the reputation of being sharp and severe, when peace comes again, they will be mild 'and much younger'; that implies, of course, a return to their own youth, not that they will be like the young men of the day.³ It was a great undertaking for an older man to approach 'matters younger than himself', namely modern wisdom.⁴ Things seem to be topsy-turvy when Strepsiades learns the new ways and addresses his son thus: 'For a young lad you have very old-fashioned ideas', or when Peithetairos is declared to be old in years, but young in his views and plans.⁵

A similar kind of contrast can be found between the old warriors of the Persian Wars and the young profiteers of democracy, and the poet's dislike of the effeminacy of the youths and their meddling in politics also reflects the same opposition between the generations.⁶ The struggle between Nikias and Alkibiades was partly one between the old and the young generation.⁷ The contrast between the good statesmen of old and the bad politicians of today was an often repeated theme, which in Eupolis' *Demoi* dominates the whole play. It is at the same time a struggle between the old and the young, the latter can be called simply 'the gangsters'.⁸ We find complaints of disrespect and of arrogant behaviour, especially towards older people, of lack of education — in the older sense, of course — and other similar charges as well as the querulous complaints of fathers about their sons' keenness on riding or on writing poetry which they had learned to compose by

¹ Eupolis 310. It is just possible that the *μειράκια* of this fragment are the same as the *μειράκια βινούμενα* of the *Demoi* (Eupolis 100), who have become στρατηγοί.

² A. 679f. — 714f.

³ P 348ff.

⁴ σοφία, C 512ff.

⁵ C 821. — B 255ff.

⁶ A 600ff, 676ff, W 1098ff, L. 632ff — Effeminate youth, e.g. K 1373ff, 1382ff, C. 987, 991, 1043ff, 1054, 1073, also Ps.-Andok IV, 22.

⁷ Thuc. VI, 12f, 17f. Cf J de Romilly, *Thucydide et l'impérialisme athénien* (1947), 176, and above, p 207, n 6.

⁸ Eupolis, 40 P, 97 τῶν πανούργων τῶν νεωτέρων] Cf Eupolis 100, 121, and above, note 1.

theory.¹ On the other hand we have the contemptuous remark of the knights that Kleon with his chattering and flattering clearly mistook them for old and senile men.² Old age or youth meant more than the number of years a man had lived. At a symposium it was the fashion to tell one's fellow-drinkers one's 'most youthful', 'most dashing', action.³

The inconsistent impression which we receive from all these references proves that Aristophanes was no die-hard defender of the older generation, although his stronger sympathies belonged to them. After all, he himself had begun to write comedies when he was still under age.⁴ It is only natural that his judgment was at times influenced by his own age, and also by the use of certain conventional types. At least once, he left all the conventions about old and young behind him. In the *Wasps* he is a fervent upholder of youth without seriously defaming old age. There is the fine figure of Bdelykleon who, though he contradicts his father and the other old men, never forgets his filial love, and only prays that his father may become less hard and stubborn.⁵ His attitude is the more significant as the son is master in the house, and the relations between father and son are completely reversed in comic absurdity.⁶ From our evidence with all its ridiculous exaggerations there emerges as a real fact a change of outlook between one generation and the next, a change, above all, in the methods of instruction, in the nature of education, and in the ethics of political life.⁷ Beyond doubt, for good or for ill, the younger generation was emancipated.

3

House and family are revealed as communities based on economic facts and personal attachment. The bonds of family-cult and religion are also touched upon by comedy, perhaps in the prayer to the 'paternal gods', more expressly in *Dikaiopolis*' sacrifice which is shared by his daughter and slave, while his wife looks on, or in the sacrifice to Hestia which took place

¹ C 993f, 998f — C 916 — B 1440ff. What are the λόγοι 'by which a man is given wings' (1438)? There is no certain answer, but more likely than not they are supposed talks or books on the arts of riding, of writing poetry, or of any other τέχνη, providing theoretical instruction.

² K. 270

³ W 1204f, cf. Neil on K 611

⁴ C 528ff.

⁵ W 652, 655, 875ff

⁶ W 67, 442 Cf. above, p. 53

⁷ Cf. chapter X

inside the house.¹ Public sacrifices usually opened with the invocation of Hestia, and 'to begin with Hestia' acquired the meaning of 'to begin at the beginning'.² This pre-eminence of the goddess of the hearth is very significant for the place in religion of hearth and home.

A man's religious activities, whether as the member of a particular cult or as a citizen generally, were, however, mainly connected with the smaller communities, with *genos*, *phratría*, and *phyle*, clan, brotherhood and tribe, apart of course from the State-cults. These communities surviving from the aristocratic period had long lost their specific character. In particular, the old *phyle* had almost completely disappeared since the Kleisthenic reforms, and when a *phyle* is mentioned in comedy, the word always indicates one of the ten tribes which formed the real political organization of the State and also the main cadres of the army.³ Their eponymous heroes, though created as late as Kleisthenes, were worshipped as *archegetai*, as 'first leaders'.⁴ It was the tribes which provided the frame for the public elections. They were also responsible for the choregy; rivalry in producing a good chorus-teacher was strong among them.⁵ Sometimes, however, the *phyle* is mixed up with the older forms of communities, in a way which cannot be strictly technical. Only a man, for instance, who is a member of *phyle* and *genos*, is a 'citizen among citizens'.⁶ The two Athenians in the *Birds* are called Prokne's kinsmen and tribesmen, because she is the daughter of a mythical Athenian king.⁷ We shall have to consider how far the ties of ancient kinship and tribal relationship were still strong besides those of the Kleisthenic order.

It was an unwritten law in Athens that nobody became a citizen until he had registered with phratry and deme, as we know from inscriptions and many passages in the Orators.⁸

¹ W 388, A 247ff, Eupolis 281. Cf also the sacrifice to Zeus Ktesios (Isaios VIII, 16).

² B 865, W 846 (ἀρχεσθαι ἀφ' Ἑστίας).

³ For φυλή = regiment see, e.g., IG I², 1085 = Tod, no. 41, 5.

⁴ frg. 126. ⁵ B 1403f. ⁶ B 33ff. ⁷ B 368, cf Xen. *anab.* VII, 2, 31.

⁸ Isaios II, 14 shows that there could be a registration among the ὀργεῶνες, IX, 30 that a child was introduced εἰς τοὺς θιάσους τοὺς Ἡρακλείους. There is no evidence in comedy to illuminate these kinds of associations, though Aristophanes' Δαιτυλῆς may have been θιασιῶται (cf Suidas, s.v.). There is ample, mainly epigraphical, evidence, though very intricate, which has been collected in an interesting paper by W. S. Ferguson, *Harvard Theol. Rev.* XXXVII (1944), 61ff.

When a father wanted a child registered, he had to sacrifice a lamb; but if it was not big enough, it could be refused by the *phrateres*, the members of the phratry.¹ 'I only hope', says a father to the lamb, 'that you won't kick the beam.'² By being introduced into the phratry a son or daughter could be legitimized, and an illegitimate son, a manumitted slave or a foreign Greek could only thus become an Athenian citizen.³ This rule, however, seems to have allowed exceptions, as the example of Archedemos shows, and this is confirmed by the fact that, at least in the fourth century, different phratries had different regulations.⁴ Frequently foreigners who had found their way into a phratry by false pretences were brought before the court of the *nautodikai*.⁵ The *phrateres* who form the chorus of a play by some second-rate comedian, Leukon, were a real community, in a much higher degree than the members of a *phyle*.⁶ The phratry granted to its members various substantial advantages, for instance on the occasion of festivals or the dinners which followed sacrifices. 'Phraters and kinsmen' met especially on the important days of the Apaturia.⁷ The heliasts, the jurymen at the people's courts who earned the notorious pay of three obols, are once called *phrateres* of the *triobolon*, as members of a true and lucrative community.⁸ It is significant of the conservative element in all the radicalism of Athenian democracy that in private life, and also as the necessary condition for the right of citizenship, the membership of a phratry kept its place.

The *genos*, the 'clan', sometimes mentioned in a general sense, was no longer of outstanding importance, though in some of the old noble families its traditions were not dead.⁹ But even the most stubborn oligarchs found their common

¹ Schol F 798

² frg 286

³ B 764f, 1669, Eupolis 40 P, 21ff

⁴ F.588, see p 160f — Cf K Latte, *P-W* XV II, 1069

⁵ frg 225, Kratinos 233

⁶ Leukon 1ff — Cf IG II, 1², 1237

⁷ Xen *hell* I, 7, 8 I read (with Dindorf and Hude) φροτῆρες instead of the πρῶτες of the codd

⁸ K 255 Cf p 230, n 2

⁹ B 33. — In Euripides' *Herakleidas* (590) Makaria sacrifices herself for the γένος, Orestes feels the bonds of the οἶκος with deep emotion (*Iph T* 693ff), and Iphigenia will save her brother instead of herself because a man is far more important for a 'house' than a woman (*ibid* 1005f)

of a deme, the local community in town or country.¹ We find people addressed or described either simply as 'demotai', fellow-demesmen, or 'neighbours and demesmen', 'neighbours, kin and demesmen', or 'demesmen and friends'.² They, besides wives and children, could supply the weeping pleaders in court.³ Hermippos wrote a play *The Demotai*, and the *Acharnians* as well as Eupolis' *Prospaltioi* took their titles from the names of individual demes; perhaps Aristophanes' *Daitales* referred to a fictitious culinary deme. The chorus of the old charcoal-burners of Acharnai, which was economically and politically one of the most important demes of Attica, illustrates very clearly the close community between the members of a deme, who, inspired by their local Muse, are uniform and united in thought and feeling.⁴ Elsewhere, too, the deme appears to have a real unity. In danger, a man would call for help from his fellow-demesmen.⁵ A man longed for his deme when he was away from it.⁶ The demesmen met before they set out on a campaign, and the rich used to give the poor weapons or money for the equipment they needed.⁷ In general the rich played an important part in the deme.⁸ Everybody knew everybody else, and the circumstances of all the families of the deme were known to everybody.⁹ Admetos, a typical *bourgeois*, was as much afraid of the criticism of the demesmen as he felt for his dead wife.¹⁰ Nobody liked to incur the enmity of a member of his deme (though this sometimes happened),

¹ Cf. Isaios IX, 18 Ἀραφηνίων πολλοὶ τῶν τότε συγγεωργούντων. The κωμηῖται (C 965, L 5, frg. 274), the fellow-villagers, were members of the deme in its character not of a political community but of a residential district. There is almost no distinction between them and the γείτονες. The δημότιδες in L 333 were hardly members of the same deme (so Liddell and Scott), but female fellow-citizens. For this use of δημότης see above, p. 82, n. 3. In a political sense, on the other hand, the States, situated close to Attica, were neighbours (L 698f).

² C 210, Pl 322, Susarion I, 3 — E 1115 — C 1321. — K 320, C 1209f, Pl 254; cf. also E 1023f.

³ Lysias XXVII, 12.

⁴ A 665ff — 319, 328ff, 333, 349, 675. Importance of Acharnai: Thuc. II, 20, 4, 21, 3, see also the inscriptions in L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (1938), 293ff, the most important also Tod, 204.

⁵ L 685.

⁶ A 33.

⁷ Lysias XVI, 14, XXXI, 15.

⁸ Cf. J. Sundwall, *Epigraphische Beiträge*, 55ff.

⁹ Lysias XXIII, 3, Isaios II, 36, VIII, 27.

¹⁰ Eur. *Alk.* 1057ff.

or what was even worse, to go to law with the deme itself.¹ The demes, governed by the *demarchoi* who were also the bailiffs, were communities with some degree of independence, and in a sense assimilated to the old religious communities.² It is significant that the women-*demotai* chose the leaders of the Thesmophoria.³ The office of *gymnasiarches* of the deme gave a man a good opportunity to display his liberality, especially during the political elections.⁴ A man who had won credit both among his fellow-demesmen and among the whole people might be elected by the members of the *phyle*.⁵

Eupolis in his *Demos* presented a chorus composed of demes, some of which were perhaps singled out by their names, like the cities in the same poet's *Poleis*.⁶ But even so, they represented a whole, the *demos* of Athens. The individual deme did not lose its hold even over those of its members who had moved to another place and, like Euelpides, no longer lived in their original deme.⁷ This is the best proof that the deme was not only a place of common residence, but a genuine community. The men from one deme usually had a common meeting-place in town, for instance, the men from Dekeleia met in a barber's shop 'near the Hermae'.⁸ The demes together were the *demos* of Athens, represented, not by the old fool of the *Knights* who personified the assembly, but by all the men of Attica, who lived in the small communities of town and country, and were firmly attached to house and land. The old communities of blood and birth were not forgotten, but the days when they actually determined the political and social life were long past. The place of a man's birth, or in some cases of his father's or grandfather's birth, was in the time of Perikles as well as later the only small community, within the State, of genuine social and political importance.

There are sources other than comedy from which we learn

¹ C 1218f, Isaios IX, 21 — Isaios XII, *frg* 5, 1

² Bailiffs: C 37, *frg* 484. — Independence Eupolis 41 P, cf Thuc II, 16, 2; IG I², 76 (*Syll*³ 83, Tod, 74), 13, 21, 27, 183ff; II, 1², 1172ff (*Syll*³ 912ff) — Religious communities cf IG II, 1², 1138ff, 1229ff, 1237ff (*Syll*³ 1091, 921)

³ Isaios VIII, 19

⁴ Isaios II, 42, VII, 36.

⁵ Ps.-Lysias XX, 2.

⁶ Eupolis 231ff

⁷ B 496, 645.

⁸ Lysias XXIII, 3. In a similar way the Plataeans met once a month at the 'Green Cheese' part of the market-place (*ibid.* 6)

several facts about house and family and deme. Yet what we learn from them are mostly, though not always, legal facts and formalities, and not facts of everyday life. Painters and sculptors give us other and more intimate evidence. In comedy, although its evidence has to be supplemented from other sources, in particular from speeches by orators such as Lysias and Isaios, something of the atmosphere is revealed in which the Athenians lived in their small communities. And in it, as in the vase-paintings or on the grave-reliefs, there is warm and living breath. What it lacks in beauty and profundity is amply made up in realism.

We had already looked at the people of Athens in their social structure and economic functions: we have now seen them in their private life. In spite of differences, chiefly of wealth, in spite of tensions such as those which existed between the generations or between town and country, we find everywhere the same type of 'small man', occupied in agriculture, trade or crafts, active also in politics, whether as an ordinary member of the assembly or as one of the few leading politicians. From Kleon onwards it was the 'Man in the Street' who ruled Athens. This phrase is much more appropriate and expressive when applied to Athenian life than to our own age and climate. Office-buildings and Houses of Parliament were not the stage of political life, nor house and club that of social life. As already emphasized, almost the whole of a man's life was lived in the open air. The Athenians were men in the street, men in the market, men in assembly and palaestra, men in the groves and sacred enclosures of the gods.

When we speak of the 'Man in the Street' we must include the few larger landowners or businessmen who did not belong to the nobility. Demosthenes' father was one of them. We can trace economic parallels to this type also among metics and even emancipated slaves. We have seen that the distance between the rich citizens and rich non-citizens was not great, except in the political sphere, nor was there, on the other hand, a wide gulf separating the wealthy from the poorer citizens. In the generations after Perikles the 'Man in the Street', the man who belonged to phratry and deme, represented the people in their political and economic activities. His ideal of life was primarily distinguished by the desire to 'live and let live', although with a natural bias in favour of his own material well-

being. 'What does wine grant to men?' — in other words, what are the aims of men in conditions of heightened vitality and energy, such as are given by wine, in conditions, that is to say, in which a man is able to realize his ideals? The answer is 'to be wealthy and successful, to win one's lawsuits, to be happy, and to help one's friends'.¹ This quotation is also a convenient bridge from the present chapter to the next.

¹ K.92ff.

CHAPTER IX

MONEY AND PROPERTY

I

THE Athenians would not have been Greeks if money and property had not meant a great deal to them. Here too comedy reflects real life, for it has more references to money than any other literary source. Moreover, it does not weary us with moralizing speeches about avarice, meanness and extravagance, nor with long discussions of complicated legal cases. Money appears in its real function, as the permanent and necessary basis of life for every individual human being. We are left in no doubt that money was in fact the basic factor in Athenian economy. It is significant that money sometimes appears in metaphors, very much as it may occur in modern languages. Sokrates asks: 'What kind of gods do you swear by?' You must know first of all that gods are not current coin with us.¹ The gods of Euripides are called 'a new coinage', and a bad man was called 'of base coinage', substantially the same phrase was used for a worthless coin.² 'Stamp' and 'character' was one word used for coins and men alike, and gold as well as men could be 'adulterated'.³

Professional money-dealing, however, the business of the *trapezites*, which included what we call banking, was little developed and entirely in private hands.⁴ The so-called 'money-coiner', who obtained and lent money, was quite a well-known figure.⁵ Some banking transactions are mentioned in comedy; for instance, the simple changing of money into

¹ C 247f. At the same time, there may be a pun here. Θεοὶ ἡμῖν νόμισμα οὐκ ἔστιν reminded the audience of the modern view that gods exist only on account of a mere opinion (νομιζόμενοι). Cf. F. Heinemann, *Nomos und Physik*, 121.

² F. 890 — Pl. 862, 957, cf. A 517f — F 718ff, 725.

³ χαφακτήρ Eur. *Hek* 379f, *El* 558f, 572 — κίβδηλος *Med* 516ff, *Hipp* 616, *El* 550.

⁴ Eupolis 125, *Lykias*, *frag* 38, 1. We do not know what the δημοσία τράπεζα was (schol. F 367, *IG* II², 1013, 4, see also *Syll*³ 577, 12f), cf. Boeckh, II, 319, 2, Laum, *P.-W. Suppl* IV, 8f.

⁵ Kratinos 226, Phryn. 5.

smaller coin, or loans at simple and compound interest, or the keeping of deposits.¹ The reliability of the bankers was generally acknowledged, except for the small moneylenders and usurers who cannot be regarded as bankers, and of whom we shall speak below.² It was usual to deposit money by oral agreement, often even without witnesses.³ In a general way the seeds of the later development of banking were already sown.

In investigating the part played by money outside the professional handling of it, we ought first to go into the perennial, if commonplace, matter of prices.⁴ We have, of course, to take into account the fact that in comedy a price may be occasionally raised or lowered, simply for the sake of comic effect. It is certainly not the usual price when an ordinary cup is valued at 200 dr(achmai), or when a rich man gives a dinner for a hundred dr. and the wine costs as much again, or when a slave pretends to have got for a hundred dr. only eight bass and twelve gilt-heads, even though these were expensive kinds of fish.⁵ Likewise, the ridiculous haggling between Dionysos and the dead man about the price to be paid for carrying the luggage (two dr. or one and a half) is not about a price which is to be taken seriously, and the seven obols which are proclaimed with trumpets, probably as a reward, are only a jest.⁶ Any of the prices mentioned in comedy may be misleading; the general impression will prove to be right.

¹ W 789, frg. 208 — C 1155f, 1214ff, 1267ff — frg. 724 — Nothing is said of that branch of banking which was most important in the fourth century: the sea-loans. The only possible allusion is provided by the man who looks anxiously out for the cargo-ships (adesp 377). He may be an *emporos*, but more likely he is the moneylender. The chief reason why pure money business plays a comparatively small part in comedy is that the rapid development of this part of economic life did not begin before the fourth century. Pasion founded his bank in 394, but even he is partly or even essentially a manufacturer. In general cf. Glotz, 304.

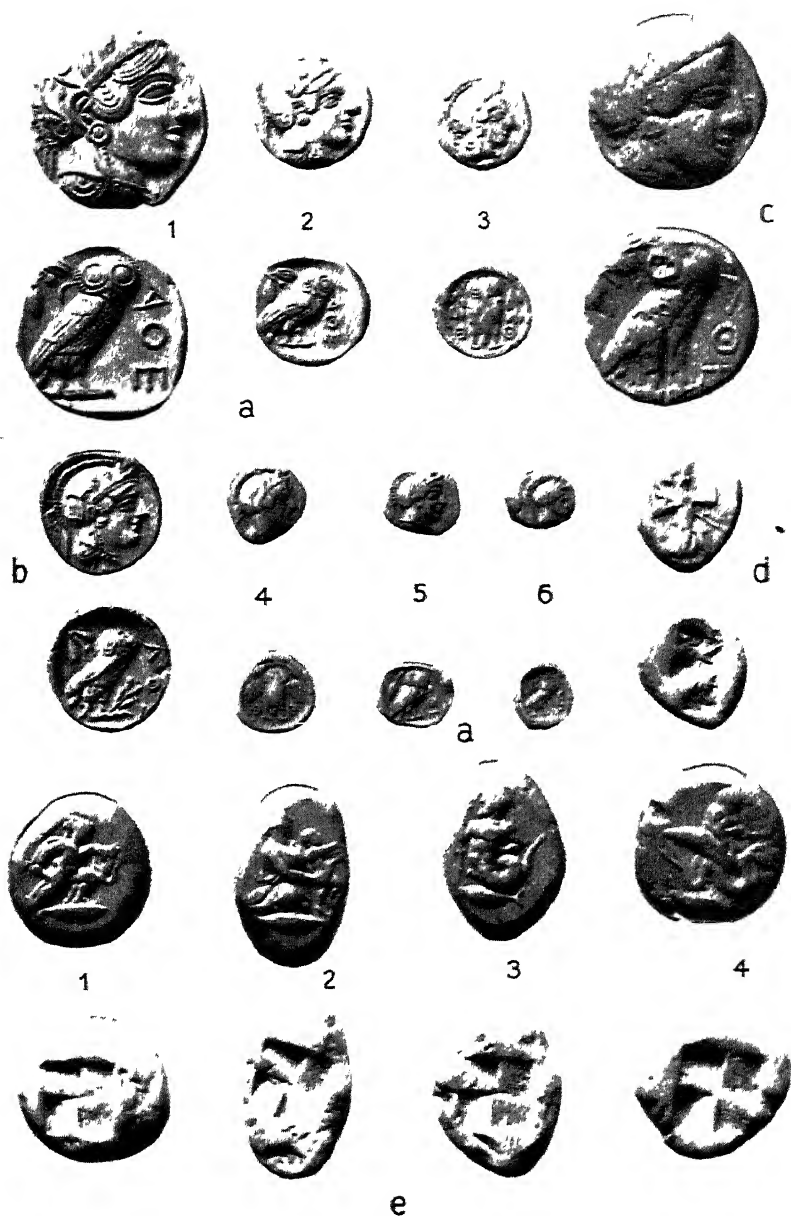
² Cf. Calhoun, 82ff. Mere moneylenders, of course, like the mother of Hyperbolos (Th 84off), were by no means always honest business people, cf. also the man who gave three minae and charged twelve (Pl 381).

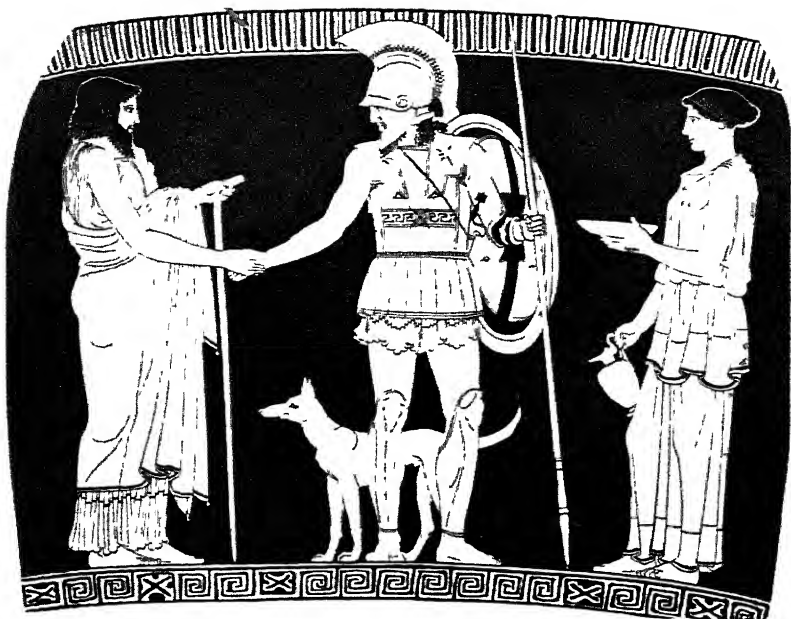
³ E.446ff, cf. Isokr. XVII, 2.

⁴ To the following pages cf. the first chapter of Boeckh.

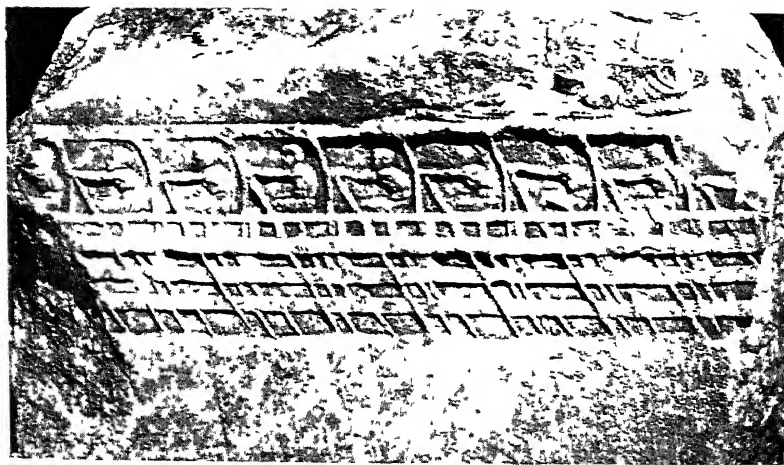
⁵ frg. 71. It is on account of the enormous price of the cup that Pollux (*onom.* 10, 85), who quotes the fragment, assumes that there were *κότυλοι* not only of earthenware but also of silver. — Eupolis 149 — Eupolis 150.

⁶ F 173 — Archipp 19.





a



b

ARMY AND NAVY

Silver was the prevailing Attic standard, as it was with most of the coinages of the time. Foreign gold coins were being introduced only gradually. The ratio of the value of gold to silver changed; in general gold became less valuable from the time when Persian gold coins began to circulate more freely in Greece, and the output of Laureion decreased, temporarily at least.¹ Nevertheless, in spite even of the occasional minting of gold coins by Athens herself, the monometallic system of silver coinage remained.² The *stater* or tetradrachm may be called the standard coin of Athens, but the drachma was the basic unit of calculation, and a sum in drachmas could be given by the mere figure, without the addition of the word drachmas.³ Anything worth a drachma was called a *drachmiation*.⁴

Everyday life, however, reckoned in *oboloi* or *obols* (obols), the sixth part of a drachma.⁵ Foreign money was changed into obols; the 'twelfth part', for instance, which apparently means one twelfth of a *stater* of special value, was worth eight obols.⁶ Athenian currency consisted of silver coins of various sizes; some of these coins were not introduced before the fourth century. The whole series included the three-obol piece — the often-mentioned triobolon — the two-obol piece, $1\frac{1}{2}$ obols, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ and (rarely) $\frac{1}{6}$ obol.⁷ All these silver coins, bearing the head of Athena and the owl, were, according to the promise of the Birds, 'the Laureion owls, who will nest in the purses and hatch small coins'; they could also be called 'maidens' or 'virgins' after the virgin goddess.⁸ Later, in the fourth century, the bronze *chalkous* took the place of the $\frac{1}{6}$ -obol piece, which was almost useless because of its very small size.⁹ But there is another small coin sometimes mentioned in comedy, the so-called *kollybos*, probably a copper coin, though it has

¹ Cf Wade-Gery, *Num Chron* X (1930), 16ff.

² About the Athenian gold coins see next page

³ W 769

⁴ frg 425

⁵ Cf M. N. Tod, *Num Chron* 1947, 1ff

⁶ Krates 20

⁷ C. T. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, 109, 178f — Only some of them are mentioned in comedy frg. 3, 48, F 554. See Plate XVIIIa. The τετράβολον (P 254, cf Theop. 55) and the πεντάβολον (K 798) were, in all probability, not coins but sums of money.

⁸ B 1106ff. — κόραι or παρθένοι Eur frg 675.

⁹ If the χαλκοῦς in adesp. 376 was the same as that coined by Timotheos in the Olynthian War (Ps -Aristotle, *oik.* 1350a, 23ff), the fragment cannot belong to Old Comedy. In general see M. N. Tod, *Num Chron* 1946, 47ff

was sufficient to buy 'obolos-bread', apparently a one-obol loaf, a loaf of average size, and 'ten (or even fourteen) obols' worth of bread' was a great deal.¹ Meat, of course, was expensive; a dish for half an obol was certainly a modest meal, though, it seems, a usual one in the catering trade; the glutton Herakles swallowed twenty of them.² Salted fish, a cheap and popular food, cost one obol each, and the same price was paid for a fair quantity of small sardines.³ It was a vital necessity to the people that fish should be kept cheap.⁴ Spices were sold for one or two obols, and three *kotylai* of wine, a normal but small measure, were to be had for one obol.⁵ The prices of corn or flour mentioned in comedy vary considerably, as they did in fact; once the price of a sixth of a bushel of corn (not quite sixteen pints), enough to feed a man for eight days, is given as three obols, while a Boeotian *kophinos* of flour (between sixteen and eighteen pints) is said to have cost four dr., which was certainly an excessive price.⁶ A certain amount, apparently an average one, of the best honey cost four obols, a pigeon three.⁷ A jackdaw for one obol and a crow for three were hardly worth even that price, but the bird dealer, though a swindler, sells seven finches for one obol.⁸ A small pig, however, cost three dr., while the drachma for a pig's snout may have included also the belly of the tunny fish mentioned at the same time.⁹ It is quite impossible for a horse, even a winning horse, to have been seriously valued at 15 talents (90,000 dr.); the worth of the horse is in this case jokingly contrasted with the owner of the horse who was worth hardly a few coppers.¹⁰ But twelve minae, a fifth of a talent, may have been an adequate price for a 'koppa-branded horse' or one of favourite colour, while three minae (300 dr.) for a horse constituted a small sum.¹¹

¹ Irg 103, 440, Pherekr 55 (whatever the meaning of this obscure fragment). The second explanation given by ancient grammarians of ὀβελίαι, namely that it means a loaf roasted on a spit, seems unlikely, if only for technical reasons. It may, however, have been a loaf shaped like an obolos (Poll. VI, 75). Mr. Seltman reminds me of the normal French loaf. This is also Mr. Tod's view (*Num. Chron.*, 1947, 1f) — W.1391 ἀρτους δέκ' ὀβολῶν κάπιθήκην τεττάρων. The ἐπιθήκη refers to obols rather than loaves. See p. 28, n. 3.

² Eupolis 154 — F 553¹

³ adesp. 562 — K 649, Aristom. 7

⁴ Cf. K 644ff

⁵ K 646ff, adesp. 562 — Th. 743, adesp. 1320

⁶ E 547 — Strattis 13

⁷ P 254 — Phryn. 51

⁸ B 18f, 1077ff

⁹ P 374, Strattis 4.

¹⁰ adesp. 376

¹¹ C 21ff, 1224. — Isaios V, 43

The prices of other commodities are given. The fuller got three obols for the cleaning of a coat, evidently a fair price.¹ While in the 'twenties a garment was valued at five *stater*s (20 dr.), later, though one would expect a higher price, a new warm coat cost 16 or 20 dr., a pair of shoes not more than eight dr.² The prices are explained by the fact that the first mentioned garment was an expensive piece of luxury, while the later moderate prices were those of dress worn by ordinary people. Extravagant women are said to have bought dresses for more than a thousand dr. each.³ A hundred vine-poles did not cost more than one dr., while a toy or a small oil-bottle could be bought for a single obol.⁴ A lady could buy white and red cosmetics for two obols, a sum which also represented an adequate payment for an interpreter of dreams.⁵ For a ring against snake-bite the druggist charged a drachma, while a signet-ring cost only half that amount.⁶ A small chariot and a pair of wheels were together offered for sale at 300 dr., but the price seems to have been thought excessive.⁷ While during the war one could get 'hardly a *kollybos*' for agricultural tools like sickles or scythes or water-vessels, after the conclusion of peace, when the peasants were engaged in getting their farms straight again, the sickle-maker could sell his wares for 50 dr. apiece, and the potter for three.⁸ The prices charged by the merchants for a breast-plate was ten minae (1000 dr.), for a trumpet 60 dr. and for a helmet 50 dr., as these things were bought during the war, the usual prices must have been lower, and at any rate 1000 dr. is out of proportion.⁹ Finally, we have a special class of prices: to sleep with a hetaera one usually had to pay much more than a drachma.¹⁰ There were, of course, different tariffs, but a silver *stater* was a moderate price.¹¹ It is by way of a joke that an Attic soldier is said to have bought a mistress for a *kollybos* — and that in Kyzikos

¹ W.1128² Eupolis 252 — E 413, Pl 982ff³ adesp. 516⁴ P 1263. — C 863f, F 1234ff⁵ Ameips. 3, W 52f⁶ Pl.883f. — Th.425⁷ C 31

⁸ P.1198ff. I retain the common reading of the MSS. in 1201 (πεντήκοντα) and do not accept Meineke's correction πέντε γ' αὐτὰ. The latter would probably have been a reasonable price in normal times; the point here must be that the sickle-maker gets unusually high prices, and the 3 dr. for a rough pot seems also to be a lot.

⁹ P.1224ff, 1240f, 1251¹⁰ Th 1195¹¹ Theop 21

with its precious electrum *staters* which were the envy of Athens.¹

It is obvious that on the basis of these varied prices we cannot construct any sort of price-curve, even if we add all the evidence obtained from other sources. The only certain fact is a general tendency for prices to rise, especially that of wheat. As always with this kind of fragmentary evidence, all we can do is to try to work out a rough impression of the value of money.² Apart from the general rise of prices during the war, there were changes in one direction or the other according as times were easy or difficult. Everything that was scarce was expensive, and vice versa; in case of urgent need one had to sell cheaply.³ The ordinary law of supply and demand ruled. The conclusion of peace, as we have seen, gave the sickle-maker the chance to sell his products at a good profit, while the arms merchant went bankrupt.⁴ The soldier's widow, who plaited wreaths for religious purposes, suffered financially from the anti-religious movement which lessened the demand.⁵ The Boeotian eel was a favourite delicacy, but three dr. for one was certainly a high price due to war-time conditions.⁶ A clever merchant would follow the changes in demand: he tried to buy cheap and to sell dear wherever and whenever the demand increased.⁷

The prices which happen to be given in comedy indicate that many things could be bought for a few obols. The five obols a day which the wealthy grandfather and guardian pretended to have spent for the nourishment of each of his three grandchildren were rightly regarded as an excessive amount of money.⁸ If something was to be shown as exceptionally cheap, it was said that one could get 'ten for an obol', while it must have been a fairly valuable commodity of which it could be said that 'one obol is not much for even the bad ones'.⁹

¹ Eupolis 233.

² There were, of course, differences of quality, e.g., between the fine Persian wool and the rough Attic cloth. A Persian coat is said to have been made from wool costing a talent (W 1137f, 1145ff).

³ A 758f, K 894ff, W 251ff, 491ff, P 252ff — A 812ff, 895ff.

⁴ P 1198ff, 1210ff. ⁵ Th 446ff. This, however, may be nothing but a joke.

⁶ A 962. ⁷ K 676ff — A 900ff, cf. Lysias XXII, 8, 14.

⁸ Lysias XXXII, 20. The food concerned is called *δψον* which means that *σῖτος* is not included.

⁹ adesp 763 — Eupolis 185.

In Hades money-affairs were supposed to be on a similar basis.¹ Small change was called by the same word as money on the whole.² It was the sum a man had normally to deal with for everyday needs. Thus a drachma was hardly regarded as small coin, and to change it one went to the market.³ A peasant who had sold his grapes and was going to buy some flour had only small coin with him — some of the coppers which unfortunately were withdrawn from circulation at that very moment.⁴ He carried the coins in his mouth. This was the general custom, and it was therefore possible literally to stop an orator's mouth by bribery, though 'small coin' would scarcely satisfy him.⁵ The poor fellow who had swallowed his only obol was unable to make any further purchases.⁶ Someone thought it safer — such a small sum makes it seem amusing — to put two obols and a *symbolon* under his pillow.⁷ For larger sums of money, which it was desired to keep for some time, a man had always a purse or a 'bladder', the rich man perhaps even a 'safe'.⁸

On the whole, the prices vindicate our estimate of the value, or rather the lack of value, of the public payments. It is well known that since the days of Perikles 'the Horn of Plenty' had been generous to the 'present-takers'.⁹ Payment to the citizens, either for some service rendered to the State or for nothing at all, was more than a necessary result of a democratic system based on the political co-operation of the whole community. In a sense, it was a quite simple and primitive idea, inherent in the nature of the Polis which was a community of citizens, not of subjects, besides, the Greeks always considered private property as the inevitable foundation of the economic

¹ Pherekr. 81.

² ἀργύριον (frg. 262) or the plural ἀργύρια (B 600, Eupolis 155). In either case it is the actual coin rather than the abstract conception of small change.

³ W 788f.

⁴ E. 817ff.

⁵ W 606ff, 791f, frg. 3, 48, 614 — P 645, Pl 379.

⁶ B 502f.

⁷ frg. 44. According to Poll IX, 70f the *symbolon* was half a coin, hardly the right explanation. In most cases it means an entrance ticket to court or assembly, which entitled the bearer to receive his fees (E 296, Pl 278). What is important, however, is that it implied a certain small value (Hermipp. 14, 61, Archipp 8). Cf Regling, *P-W* IV, A, 1092 (unfortunately much too short).

⁸ βαλλάντιον: K 707, B 1107, frg. 328, 504, 545, Telekl 41, 2, adesp 654, 660. — ἀργυροθήκη: Diokl 1 D.

⁹ Kratinos 244, cf 128. This probably does not refer to bribery, but to the payment of the jurymen, cf H. Erbse, *Philologus* XCVII (1948), 189ff.

system. The citizens were, so to speak, entitled to share personally in the surplus revenues of the State, and the Athenians had had experience of this before Themistokles. As pay in the true sense of the word, however, not as the distribution of the public surplus, public payments were first introduced by Perikles. They quickly deteriorated into a weapon of demagogic practice.

The widest form of public payment, the fee paid for attending the assembly, was not introduced until the beginning of the fourth century. For a short time it amounted to one obol, then it was raised to two and finally, about 393, to three obols.¹ At the time when the payment was one obol, the people preferred to hang about in the market; after the three obols had been introduced, there was a veritable rush to the *ekklesia*.² The fees of the jurors, instituted by Perikles, as were probably those of the members of the council, amounted to two obols at the outbreak of the war.³ As early as 425 it was raised to three by Kleon.⁴ The citizens, instead of sitting through a whole day, tried to get their money by attending at one lawsuit only, or later, when lawsuits had become less frequent, to be registered under more than one 'letter', thus being certain of at least one sitting, but there was no further rise of fees.⁵ Even as it was, the jurymen's pay represented for a long time the heaviest burden on the State, until later on it lost its special importance when everybody who sat in the assembly received the same payment.⁶

Famous, even notorious, throughout the world was the *diobelia*, but what it was is not definitely known.⁷ It is, however, not likely that it indicated the *theorikon*, a payment of two obols introduced by Perikles, which enabled every citizen to attend the performances of tragedies and comedies.⁸ Probably the *diobelia* was on a much larger scale, and is identical

¹ E 183ff, cf 290ff, 380ff

² E.299ff, Pl 171, 329f.

³ Members of council cf Wade-Gery, *AJP* LIX (1938), 131ff.

⁴ K 51, 255, W 690, frg 574, Phryn 63

⁵ K 50f. — Pl 1166f, cf 972

⁶ Burden on State F 1466, cf W 660ff

⁷ F.140f.

⁸ Some late sources, followed by some modern scholars (e.g., Haigh, 329ff), take the *θεωρικόν* as the entrance fee to the theatre. Although tickets of admission were used — mainly to avoid a rush and secure a fair distribution of seats — the *theorikon* was far more intended to enable a man to leave his work for the days of the festival

with the war-time allowance which Kleophon introduced in 410 as a real help for the poor, it was perhaps replaced during the siege of Athens by exceptionally large distributions of corn.¹ Two obols was also the usual payment for rowers and soldiers.² This sum was, however, often raised in war-time, as we know from the case of the two-drachma hoplite (with his servant) at Potidaia, or the sailors in the Sicilian Expedition who received a drachma a day.³ Tissaphernes threatened to reduce the pay of the Peloponnesians from one dr. to three obols, a sum at that time supposed to represent the Attic payment.⁴ Cavalry were usually paid a drachma a day.⁵

Sometimes markets are mentioned in connection with military camps.⁶ This proves that, as we should expect, the soldiers had some money to spend during a campaign, although they often received the pay due to them at irregular intervals, and sometimes not until after the campaign.⁷ It is specially mentioned when troops received their pay or money for provisions in advance.⁸ Besides their pay, the soldiers were given either food or a gratuity.⁹ It is, however, not certain whether the

¹ *IG* I², 304 (*Syll* ² 109), A, 12, Arist. *Ath. pol.* 28, 3 — Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, 83f.

² W 1189, Theop. 55. I consider it impossible that Philokleon (W 1187ff) should have been a *theoros* with a pay of two obols (cf Boeckh, I, 271) *θεωρεῖν* is used in a double meaning, as is confirmed by 1382 'to be a sacred ambassador' and 'to be a spectator'. It is a pun.

³ Thuc. III, 17, 3 — Thuc. VI, 31, 3. Cf 8, 1, here we learn that Egesta offered 60 talents (= 360,000 dr) for 60 ships (each of 200 men) for one month (= 30 days), each man received 1 dr a day, thus $60 \times 200 \times 30 = 360,000$.

⁴ Thuc. VIII, 29, 1, 45, 2, cf Xen. *hell* I, 5, 4ff — Mr E. S. G. Robinson has recently found a most interesting tetradrachm of Attic standard with the owl and the legend ΒΑΣΕ on the reverse, and the head of a Persian satrap (most likely Tissaphernes) on the obverse. See now Robinson, *Numism. Chron.* VIII (1948), 48ff. This coin provides a striking illustration to Thucydides' statements that Tissaphernes paid in Athenian drachmai.

⁵ *Lysias* *frag.* 6, 70ff, Thuc. III, 17, 3. The motion of Theozotides, which is opposed by Lysias, wanted the knights' pay to be reduced to four obols, and that of the mounted archers, who were not citizens, to be increased from two to eight obols. This was pure demagogism.

⁶ Thuc. VI, 44, 3, 50, 1, VII, 39, 2.

⁷ K 1065f, 1078f, 1366f.

⁸ Xen. *hell* I, 1, 24, V, 1, 24.

⁹ It is said contemptuously of the Argives (P 477) that they are *μισθοφοροῦντες ἄλφιστα* from both sides. This, of course, does not prove that there were soldiers who received only the minimum of corn as their pay. For ἄλφιστα, cf. K 1359, C. 106, 176, W 301, also Pherekr. 1.

three Aiginetan obols which are mentioned as *sisos* in the treaty with Argos and were worth about $4\frac{1}{2}$ Attic obols, should be taken as the normal equivalent of the corn allowance.¹ At any rate, the soldiers had to bring with them a minimum of food ('onions and garlic') for the first three days of the campaign.² On the whole, the soldiers' pay was hardly large enough to attract many, and the public pension of one obol a day, which was given to total invalids in general, and therefore also to disabled soldiers, was a bonus on the ground of reduced ability to earn one's living rather than a real living wage.³

Of the payment earned by the State-officials we know very little indeed. But it is obvious that the great majority, that is to say all those who were elected by lot, earned small fees for every day they were in office.⁴ Some of them received, as it seems, their posts by favouritism from higher officials, although it is by no means clear how that was possible.⁵ Among the higher posts there still remained a few such as the treasurers or the *strategoi* and *hipparchoi* who were not paid.⁶ On the

¹ Thuc. V, 47, 6

² A 197, K 600, W. 243, P. 312

³ Lysias XXIV, 13 — The question of the payments to soldiers still involves many uncertainties, cf. the sound discussion by G. T. Griffith, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*, 264ff.

⁴ It was one of the main points in the programme of the oligarchs in 411 that no ἀρχή was to be μισθοφόρος. In the times of Aristotle (*Ath. pol.* 62, 2) the archons received four obols daily εἰς στήσιν, and out of this had to keep also a herald and a flute-player, but, as the previous sentence suggests, the money was in addition to their μισθός.

⁵ Favouritism W. 682f. The charge, of course, may have been made without any justification.

⁶ Officers of lower rank such as, e.g., the taxiarch Lamachos (A 607ff, 1073ff) were in a similar position as the paid magistrates. Cf. the interesting short paper by J. A. O. Larsen, *Cl. Phil.* XVI (1946), 91ff. I disagree with his assumption that 'even the generals and hipparchs received some kind of remuneration when on active service'. Ps.-Xen. I, 3, clearly contrasts the elected offices of the *strategoi* and *hipparchoi* with the ἀρχαί which are μισθοφορίας ἕνεκα. Boeckh, I, 152 (more vaguely, p. 340) claims that generals normally received four times as much as the hoplites. This view, which seems widely accepted, is mainly based on Xen. *anab.* VII, 6, 1, a reference to Kyros' payment of his mercenary officers, and therefore hardly applicable to Athens. Prof. Larsen, who sees these points, yet tries to maintain that *strategoi* and *hipparchoi* were paid. Whatever view we accept, the analogy of the ambassadors' fees is off the point. They received their pay (see below) to cover their travelling expenses, and that can be compared with the στήσις which every officer and soldier received apart from the μισθός, either

other hand, the daily fees of higher officials, so far as they were paid at all, were apparently on the large side. The *synegoros*, who acted as prosecuting or defending counsel, received 1 dr., ambassadors received a travelling allowance, and certain officers, when abroad, a wage of 2 or even 3 dr. a day.¹ These posts aroused widespread envy, the more so as they offered many other chances of money-making, such as did not come the way of the majority of the citizens. The latter were 'the many of the obol', as Aristophanes called them as early as 425.² Though there are plenty of sayings to prove that a *triobolon* was of no great value, 'the payment which brings in my living' must have covered the minimum needs,³ while wealthy people gave their fees to their children as pocket-money or to buy a toy with.⁴ For the old man in the *Wasps* the three obols are hardly enough to buy flour, wood and meat for his family of three, probably because of the rise of prices in the first years of the war.⁵ As late as 392, on the other hand, the man who sat in court was considered the wage-earner of the family, and the amusing 'rage over the lost *triobolon*' (if Beethoven will allow us the phrase) tells a plain tale.⁶ 'What house would not be glad of four obols', runs a fragment which belongs to the last decade of the fifth century, 'if a man now keeps his wife on two obols'.

in money or in kind. On the other hand, any members of the army or navy who did peace-time service (cf., e.g., Arist. *Ath. pol.* 24, 3) — the majority being back in civil life — were paid, though probably less than in time of war. I do not know to what Larsen refers when he says that 'the officers received no pay for normal peacetime activities'.

¹ Synegoros: W 482f, 691; cf. Bonner and Smith, *The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle*, II, 8ff — Ambassadors A 65ff, 602.

² K 945. These are hardly, as they are usually explained, those 'of whom many make one obol', that is: those entirely worthless. I believe they are those who receive 'the obol', corresponding to the *πρώτῃς τριωβόλου* (K 255), those who are connected by the *triobolon*. Apparently 'the' obol stands for every customary payment, no matter whether of one, two or three obols.

³ *Triobolon* C 1235, P 848, Pl 124f, Ameips 13, Nikoph. 12. — Quotation L 624f.

⁴ C 863f, W 606ff.

⁵ W 300ff.

⁶ E 460f — 380ff, 392ff.

⁷ Theop. 55. The reference here is to a soldier's pay and perhaps to the comic possibility that it would be doubled by the women being called up as well. But this flight of fancy does not distort the reality of the general conditions. Another explanation of the fragment is (cf. M. N. Tod, *Num. Chron.* 1947, 16) that 'the rise from two to four obols would make all the difference between straitened means and comparative affluence'. Economically this provides the same picture.

Modern scholars have computed that about 420 two obols meant an ample living wage for a single man, while rather less than a century later three obols barely sufficed.¹ On the other hand, in the last years of the fifth century, a family of four or five could not exist without an income of at least a drachma a day, the usual payment for craftsmen. The three obols for attending the assembly, introduced about 393, were certainly not sufficient to cover the normal cost of living of a whole family. The rush to the assembly was caused by the terrible poverty at that time of a large part of the urban population. What is called a 'living wage' was hardly more than the cost of food alone. Not until the last decades of the fourth century did the members of the assembly as well as of the *boulē* receive, on days of duty, fees of five obols or one dr., sometimes even of one and a half dr. These rises were caused partly by the devaluation of money, partly by the more determined attempts to provide a livelihood for the poorer classes without any regular labour of their own.

In earlier times the purpose of the public payments had been different. They were in no sense 'poor-relief'; they were not a 'dole', as they are sometimes described. For they were given equally to all citizens, no matter whether rich or poor, and on the other hand, these small daily payments, which must have been received very irregularly, could not support a man for any length of time. The jurors' pay is the only one which in a sense was some sort of old-age pension; for the majority of the *heliasts* — in particular in times of war — consisted of old men, who were unable to earn anything otherwise. The chief, if not the only, idea behind the public fees was to enable every citizen to leave his business for a time and turn his attention to politics, to the courts or to the theatre. This policy was in its nature political rather than economic. The single exception is the *diobelia*, which was an emergency measure introduced in war-time; but even this was due to demagogic and political as well as economic motives.

Every estimate, however, of the economic value of the public payments must take into consideration the extraordinary frugality of Greek life, and the modest demands of the ordinary Greek. If we can believe the evidence of comedy, he owned as a rule only one cloak and one pair of shoes.² The fact that

¹ Francotte, I, 327ff. Glotz, 286 (somewhat different in details) ² E 314f, 353.

calculates. 'Must a man lose everything he owns? No, never!' So he tries by every means to recover his money. There were professional moneylenders, among them the so-called *obolostatai*; though it is hardly true, despite the assertions of some ancient commentators, that they took one obol daily interest on every mina and thus more than sixty per cent a year, they were nevertheless usurers who got their name from their reputation for lending only a few obols at a time.² The average rate of interest was 12 per cent a year on monthly payments.³ Thus moneylending was very lucrative; the 'owls', in fact, hatched plenty of small coins.⁴ Borrowing was always a somewhat expensive business, even more so in war-time, when because of the heavy risks the rate, especially for sea-loans, increased severely.⁵ It is mere sarcasm and mockery when a comic chorus offers to lend large sums: the man who gets them need not pay them back, because nobody gets anything.⁶ The popular opinion was that people with 'invisible wealth', that is capital on loan, had gained their money by perjury.⁷ The distrust of this way of making money was general and is easily understood; it was probably based on sound reasons. Frequently a man pawned something in order to be able to pay interest, and in the ideal programme of the *Ekklesiastousai* taking in pawn is therefore abolished along with robbery, envy and poverty.⁸

Wealth had always been an indispensable attribute of the aristocracy, but that was wealth inherited, not earned, and for a long time it had consisted of fields and houses rather than money. Even the sausage-seller, rising to the occasion, eventually claims to own a two-storied house and two tenement-houses.⁹ The social changes which began, as Theognis shows, as early as the sixth century, and which still dominated the age of Old Comedy, also changed the general views about

¹ C 420f, 1214f ² C 1155 Cf. Billeter, *Geschichte d. Zinsfußes*, 356.

³ C 16ff, 1131ff Cf. Billeter, 10ff. Aeschines the Socratic was to pay 36 per cent interest for working capital he needed, and was satisfied when he got it somewhere else at 18 per cent (Lysias, *trg* 38, 1f)

⁴ B 1106ff

⁵ Xen. *Paroi*, 3, 9

⁶ L 1049ff.

⁷ E 603 — Capital on loan cf. Heichelheim, 353. Another explanation is that invisible wealth meant any property in cash. It is quite possible that ἀφανὴς πλοῦτος included both meanings, as a general contrast to 'visible' property such as fields and houses

⁸ C 33f — E. 565ff.

⁹ K 1001.

property and income. The middle classes considered the earning of money no shame. When Isokrates attacks, because of their money-making, other rhetoricians whom he calls philosophers, this is in his mouth plain hypocrisy.¹ Poets, however, even Sophokles, earn censure for their avarice, while in tragedy the same accusation is frequently brought against Teiresias.² The sophists demanded high fees and gave as the chief reason the fact that they taught matters of immediate value, which could be converted into cash. for example, how to win a lawsuit by tricks of rhetoric.³ Sometimes such methods of money-making were denounced in comedy, and the sophists were called 'money-coiners of words', men as it were who earned money by coining new words.⁴ The treatment of Sokrates is somewhat surprising; Aristophanes supposes in the *Clouds* that he taught for money or money's worth, but he does not attack him for this reason.⁵ On the contrary, he is derided by the comedians as a starving wretch who robs a pupil of his coat, a beggar who thinks of everything except where he will get his food from, a companion at a drinking-party who will steal a jug of wine while singing a song.⁶ Another comedian adheres more closely to the facts of Sokrates' way of life when he says that people were surprised to see him wear a woollen garment, while he walked bare-footed, which annoyed the shoe-makers.⁷ It is clear that the ordinary citizen was greatly perturbed by Sokrates' indifference to money; his whole property amounted to about five minae only.⁸ Sokrates was distrusted mostly because the ordinary man's point of view was businesslike and realistic. Business, however, very often implied eagerness to make money, and poverty was often nothing but hidden avarice.⁹ The haggling in the *Frogs* between

¹ Isokr. X, 6

² P. 697ff, see p. 21, n. 6 — Sophokles (*Antig.* 1055, *Old. Tyr.* 380ff) and Euripides (*Ba.* 257) speak of the venal race of seers. It was a typical view deriving, however, from contemporary opinion rather than mythological tradition. See p. 260f.

³ C. 98f. — 1041f.

⁴ Kratinos 226. The ἀργυροκοπιστὴρ λόγων is a comic counterpart to Ares called by Aischylos (*Ag.* 437) ὁ χρυσαμοιβὸς σωματῶν.

⁵ C. 1146ff. I do not think that Strepsiades' gift was purely voluntary (W. Schmid, *Philol.* 97, 1948, 223, 1).

⁶ C. 497, 856f, 1498 — Eupolis 352, 361

⁷ Ameips. 9.

⁸ Cf. Xen. *mem.* I, 6, 10ff — *oik.* 2, 3

⁹ adesp. 456

Dionysos and the dead man, though fantastic in parts, is on the whole a true mirror of the methods and the spirit of Athenian business.¹

The *Ploutos*, the play which deals exclusively with wealth, naturally tells us more about the importance of money than any other play. 'The love of money overcomes us all.'² While to Kratinos the *Ploutoi* were good spirits or *daimones* attached to the Titans, very much like Hesiod's 'wealth-giving spirits',³ the *Ploutos* of Aristophanes is not only a beggar, but a sort of money machine. Since everything can be obtained by money, one can never have enough of it 'For everything is subject to wealth'.⁴ The Olympic olive branch, not being of gold, seems worthless to this age.⁵ Even Zeus rules only because he owns more money than anybody else, and the same is true of the Persian king.⁶ The doctor does not come if there is no money waiting for him; in the same strain, perhaps, another comic writer speaks of the 'one-talent-illness'.⁷ The hetaerae's greed for money was notorious, and the same was known of some of the minion boys.⁸ Even craftsmen and dealers, not excluding thieves and burglars, work only in order to become rich.⁹ Rich people want to be richer still, and they live in constant fear for their money.¹⁰ The man who earns just a bare living by the work of his hands is a pauper, though not a beggar — a description which, in fact, may be applied to the vast majority of the people.

This, almost the last of Aristophanes' plays, presents as its chief theme the problem created by the struggle between rich and poor which had been preparing for a long time past.¹¹ Frugality and the faculty of being content with little were slowly disappearing among the poorer classes, while actual poverty had increased considerably since the collapse of the Athenian empire. Many had to pawn almost all they owned.¹² It is no longer a joke when the poet speaks of those who had neither cloak nor bed nor blankets.¹³ Radical poverty was

¹ F 173ff.² Pl. 363.³ Kratinos, 38 P, a, 9f — Hesiod, *Erga*, 122ff. δαίμονες πλουτοδόται.⁴ Pl 187ff — 146⁵ Pl 583ff.⁶ Pl. 130f, 580 — 170.⁷ Pl 407f — Alkaios 12.⁸ Pl. 149ff, 153ff.⁹ Pl 162ff, 510ff, 527ff.¹⁰ Pl 194ff. — 202f, 207¹¹ In general cf J. Hemelrijk, *Πενία εν Πλοῦτος* (1925)¹² E 754f, Pl 450f¹³ E 415ff.

spreading, and the mass of the population, no longer assured of their daily bread, refused to accept 'words for flour' ¹ There had been poor and starving people before in Athens, but what in the *Clouds* could be described as occasional cases providing good fun² was after 400 a general and tragic feature. Almost from the beginning of the war it had become necessary to counter the general poverty by public distributions of corn in the form either of cheap sales or outright gifts.³ This, however, did not prove a final remedy, especially as it was chiefly used by demagogues who hoped to win the favour of the masses. It also caused much ill-feeling that some people were given illegal advantages. Attempts to keep cheap such vital products as, for instance, salt by fixing maximum prices seem to have been ineffective.⁴ The Greek Polis of the fifth century had not yet gone very far towards the conception of the Welfare-State.

In earlier times the poor were fairly satisfied if all the rich were included in the register of those who had to pay the extraordinary war-tax.⁵ But the usual public services of the rich, such as the trierarchy, choregy and war-tax, though they involved considerable expense, were, above all, an honourable burden, the rich being ostensibly proud to bear them.⁶ The poor were therefore less aware of the burden than of the honour. Moreover, many wealthy men claimed, with good reason or without, that they had enough to live on, but not enough to undertake any 'liturgy'; many of them knew how to share such a duty with somebody else, or how to avoid it entirely or in part.⁷ The greater the poverty and misery, and the more urgent the public and private demand for money, the less adequate seemed the contributions of the rich to the State.

Money was thrust more and more into the centre of life. All property, no matter whether field or house, furniture or slave, agricultural or industrial products, could be converted

¹ Pl.218f, adesp 687 This reminds us of Goering's 'guns for butter', but the difference is significant

² C 106, 176

³ K 1100ff, W.715ff, B 580f, E 422ff, cf frg. 412ff

⁴ E.814 and schol

⁵ εἰσφορά, K 923ff

⁶ Expenses K.913ff — Pride of the rich e.g., Lysias XII, 19f, XVIII, 7, XIX, 29, 57, XXI, 2ff, XXV, 12, Isokr XVIII, 58ff, XIX, 36, Isaios VI, 60, VII, 36, 40.

⁷ Isaios XI, 40, cf V, 36 — Ps -Lysias VI, 47, Isokr XVIII, 60 — P.1022, F 1065f, E 197f, cf Isaios V, 44

into money, and was esteemed according to its value in money. A rich family would be called a 'three-talent-house', but even a 'one-talent-man' was considered wealthy.² Fines became the most usual form of legal punishment.³ A man who found an adulterer in his house, preferred money to scandal, divorce and lawsuit: 'income is better than infamy'.⁴ Euphiletos, who killed the seducer of his wife and refused to accept money, was probably an exception; we know of no similar case, and the evidence of comedy mirrors what commonly happened.⁵ Thus a statesman, when attacked by a comic writer, had in earlier times threatened him with the loss of his freedom as citizen and poet; so Kleon after the *Babylonians*. Now, however, 'he nibbles off his fees'.⁶ A man who was charged with impiety would rather pay money — probably as a bribe — than rely on his oath to prove his innocence.⁷ Debts, such as those which tormented Strepsiades and Euelpides, might become the chief motive for any desperate action, even for civil war.⁸

For some time past the State had acknowledged the necessity of stabilizing its financial policy by the accumulation of a reserve fund. This is perhaps the most significant part of the measures by which Perikles prepared Athens for the threatening ordeal of war. The god of Wealth is the guardian of the 'Opisthodomos', the part of the Parthenon containing the treasure of the goddess.⁹ The reason why the occupation of the Acropolis is so important in Lysistrata's struggle for government, is chiefly that the public treasure was kept there.¹⁰ This treasure, together with the money in circulation, upheld the economic prestige and power of Athens. False money was rare, and the Athenian coins were famous all over the world for their high percentage of silver; only at times of greatest emergency during the war were bad coins issued.¹¹ Criticism of the use made of public funds was a favourite topic of con-

¹ *IG* I², 325ff (*Syll* ³ 96ff, *Tod*, 79f), *Isaios* II, 35, VIII, 35, XI, 41ff

² *Isaios* III, 18, 25. — *Krates* 32. The meaning of the fragment seems clear (see *Liddell and Scott s.v. τάλαντιος*), although *Pollux* (IX, 53) is not certain εἴτε τιμὴν εἴτε ῥοπὴν λέγει

³ *C* 758, *W.* 1253ff, *B* 1052, *E* 655ff, cf. the ἐπωβελῖα, *Isokr.* XVIII, 3, 12, etc., XX, 3.

⁴ *Kallias* 1, cf. *Pl* 168

⁵ Case of Euphiletos. *Lysias* I, 25†

⁶ *F* 367f, *Plat.* 133, *Sannyrion* 9

⁷ *Ps.-Lysias* VI, 12

⁸ *C* 12ff and elsewhere, *B* 115 — *Thuc.* III, 81, 4.

⁹ *Pl.* 1192f

¹⁰ *L.* 173ff, 420ff, 493f

¹¹ *F* 720ff. See p. 222

versation, the more so as the decision in such matters was vested in the citizens in council and assembly.¹ It was not the people but a few men of perception who realized in time the danger to the State of distributing so much of its revenues to the citizens, with the result that there was no money 'for triremes and walls'.²

All these passages prove that financial questions came to be of ever-increasing importance in both public and private life. This would not have been the case if economics in general had not taken hold of the minds of almost the whole people and even influenced ethics and religion. Wealth was to be the reward of the good and pious people, poverty that of the bad and godless.³ This is the naive and natural interpretation by unsophisticated people who thought of wealth as a blessing and of poverty as misery.⁴ There is a phrase attributed to so fine and idealistic a politician as Thrasyboulos. 'Lucky is he who is killed in battle, for no man, however rich, will have so fair a monument as he'.⁵ To combine the idea of *dulce et decorum* with the luxurious graves of the rich may be just a patriotic commonplace, but implicitly it reveals a materialistic outlook. It is in a similar strain that Eupolis complains that it is the victor in sports, and not the good citizen who is better than all the others, who 'gets the washing-basin'.⁶ The increasing importance of economic facts was in a sense natural, though it was only after the restoration of democracy, when all the problems of internal politics seemed to have been more or less solved, but when the economic strain grew most intense, that economic questions developed into serious problems.

We may assume that it is not a complete misrepresentation of the facts when Aristophanes asserts that wealth was mostly gained by foul means, while good men were starving.⁷ A

¹ Cf W 656ff

² frg 220 The transfer of balances to the fund for the building of ships and walls was usual, cf the well-known decree of Kallias, *IG* I², 91 (*Syll.*³ 91, Tod, 51), 30. In peace-time, on the other hand, the τριηροποιοί and τειχοποιοί contributed to other public buildings, e.g. the Parthenon (*IG* I², 342, 40; 343, 90).

³ Pl 490f, 495ff.

⁴ Cf also Eur. *Kykl.* 316, *Med* 561, *Andr.* 153, *Él* 1130f, *Hel* 417ff, *Phoin* 404f, 438ff, frg. 142, 325

⁵ Xen. *hell.* II, 4, 17

⁶ Eupolis 118

⁷ Pl 502ff, 751ff, 804ff

special word was coined for the man who became rich through wrong-doing.¹ The petty retailers cheated on every occasion, and Hyperbolos had grown rich by selling lamps of bad material.² Among the bad qualities attributed to the man uninitiated into the Eleusinian mysteries these are pre-eminent — that he sows the seeds of discord, that he is greedy for personal gain, and that as an official he is open to bribery.³ Bribery and the embezzlement of public funds, 'wealth from office', are mentioned so often, either as a charge or simply as a statement, that, even after allowance has been made for comic exaggeration and for the license of abuse, a very widespread corruption of public life must be admitted.⁴ The barber who takes his razor and shaves off the war-tax from underneath the chin probably represents a demagogue who pocketed part of this important public revenue.⁵ It seems to have been of very little effect that bribery and theft, or breach of promise to lend money to the State, were punished with the pillory or a written public denunciation; heavy penalties, if not death, could also be imposed.⁶ 'The thieves are celebrating a festival', that is to say, they go unpunished.⁷ The Athenians had truly learnt to adapt themselves to the new mode, they played no longer in 'Dorian', but in 'Donodorian' style.⁸ A saying, which very likely derives from comedy, sums up the story. 'Even on the point of death an Athenian puts out his hand' — for a tip, of course.⁹

Wealth is blind after all. Even the rule of Zeus would come to an end if Ploutos gained his sight for only a short time.¹⁰ The beautiful theme of the old poet's comedy, though

¹ ἀδικοχρήματος, Krates 42

² C 1065f, but cf p 120, n 3

³ F.36cf

⁴ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, Kratinos 38 P, b, 32, combined by Goossens with Kratinos 160. Cf also *AJP* LXVI (1945), 120, n. 23. — Examples of bribery: K.402f, 438f, 472f, 680ff, 834f, 1359f, 1369f, C 591, W 675f, Th.936f, F 360ff, Pl 379, frg 100, 219, of embezzlement A.5f, K 1127f, C 351, W.554, 716f, 1117, B.1111f, L 490f, Th 811f, Pl 569, frg 40. But La Rue van Hook, *Class Journ* 23 (1928), 275ff, is right in warning us not to take as literal truth the partly inconsistent sayings of comedy about 'Crime and Criminals'.

⁵ Eupolis 278

⁶ Usual punishment K.1046ff, C 591f, Pl 476, 606, Kratinos 115, Plat 249, cf. Isaios V, 38. — Otherwise, e.g., the case of Perikles: Thuc. II, 65, 3, Plut. *Per.* 35, 4, Plat *Gorg.* 516 A.

⁷ Kratinos 18 D = adesp 662

⁸ K 985ff

⁹ Diogenian. III, 12

¹⁰ Pl. 124ff.

not new to Greek imagination,¹ was no mere fancy. It is something different; when in a comic fragment it is said that 'only in Sparta is Wealth blind like a lifeless picture'. The meaning is that wealth could not see (nor be seen) here because everybody lived, or at least should live, in accordance with the law, on the same frugal level.² In Athens it seemed hard not to recognize the bad and blind distribution of wealth. Though even here certain property could be called 'invisible wealth',³ we can hardly speak of any ostentatious luxury, as is shown by archaeological evidence. Too many, however, who were rich seemed not worthy of it, especially in the view of the less wealthy and the poor. Seen from the point of view of those without it, wealth is usually over-estimated, and to feel superior to rich men is therefore one of the greatest pleasures the heliasts can enjoy.⁴ The 'men who own', 'the rich and solemn men', suffer a good deal of criticism, though many jibes are quite good-natured.⁵ The peasant revolts against the wasting of the results of a whole year's hard work by 'illustrious' men.⁶ If somebody is rich, every means of taking his money from him seems justified.⁷ The remark that service in the navy is useful for the poor townsfolk, not for the rich and the peasants, reveals the fact that social and economic matters affected and threatened the external power of Athens, while the phrase that the 'orators' look after the common good only as long as they are poor shows us the same dangers threatening from within.⁸

A fragment from Euripides' *Aiolos*, frequently quoted in ancient times, runs: 'Do not speak of Ploutos. I do not honour him as a god, for even the worst man easily takes possession of him'.⁹ The rich were 'brigands, orators, sycophants and bad men'.¹⁰ The last word reflects the general social change which had lifted the 'commons' to the top. 'Wealth raises the worst men among the highest.'¹¹ This change accentuated the contrast between long-established and new wealth, which

¹ Cf. Hipponax 29, Timokreon 5.

² adesp. 410. The meaning is clear from the context in Porphyry *de abstinentia*, IV, 4, where the phrase is quoted.

³ E. 602. See above p. 233, n. 7.

⁴ W. 575. — Over-estimation of wealth cf. Francotte, II, 339.

⁵ K. 1295, W. 626ff. — e.g., W. 1253ff, 1266ff, P. 839ff, Pl. 594ff.

⁶ adesp. 370.

⁷ Eupolis 40 P, 65ff.

⁸ E. 197f. — Pl. 567ff.

⁹ Eur. *frg.* 20.

¹⁰ ἱερόσυλοι, ῥήτορες, συκοφάνται, πονηροί, Pl. 30f.

¹¹ Eur. *frg.* 95.

found vivid expression in comedy. The 'rich man of olden times' is contrasted with the man 'who is ennobled by his purse' and is one of the 'rascally new rich'.¹ A man like Kallias specified in the list of his inherited goods horses, fields and cattle.² Similar statements, which mostly also include houses, slaves and money on loan, are found fairly frequently in our sources. Money in cash was often added, also silver bowls when used as a means of storing wealth,³ but the immovable property, the slaves included, formed the essential part of inherited wealth. New wealth, on the other hand, came chiefly from 'mines, sea-trade and hidden treasures'.⁴ We may leave out the last item, mentioned *ad hoc* because the birds know where they are hidden, and we must not forget that in the whole passage nothing is mentioned that is not somehow aided by the birds, so that craftsmanship and retail-trade are not mentioned at all. Even so the passage is significant. The ownership or tenure of mines had been an important source of wealth for leading politicians at various times; one need only recall the names of Peisistratos and Nikias.⁵ But Aristophanes in that passage was thinking rather of smaller people; it was common to make money by owning a mine. This fact is confirmed by archaeological evidence from the mines at Laureion, which goes to show that there were a great many small claim-holders.⁶ The most usual ways of making money were, of course, by trade and craftsmanship, and we learn from comedy a good deal about wealth acquired in these pursuits.⁷ 'Potter's wealth', on the other hand, meant 'uncertain property', though probably only because the potter's goods were so easily broken.⁸ The supposition, however, underlying the phrase is that a store of goods could mean wealth just as much as money or fields, though it was certainly a kind of wealth which could be more easily destroyed.

Criticism of wealth was strong. The verdict of comedy may be taken as largely reflecting public opinion. Occasionally

¹ ἀρχαῖοπλουτος, Kratinos 38 P, b, 32 — adesp. 654 — νεοπλουτοπώνηρος, Kratinos 208.

² Eupolis 152-3.

³ IG. II², 1553ff, cf. Pherekr. 129

⁴ B 593ff

⁵ As to possible mining interests of Miltiades cf. my explanation of the Parian Expedition in *Aspects of the Ancient World*, 137ff

⁶ K 362. — E. Ardaillon, *Les mines du Laurion* (1897)

⁷ Cf Chapter V.

⁸ adesp. 749.

tween themselves and the proverbial luxuriousness and refinement of Ionia,¹ criticism of the effeminacy of the rich Attic youth was very frequent. Warm baths, excessive care of the body, the use of perfumed ointments and the like, also the idle habit of hanging about in the market instead of going to the palaestra — all these came in for unceasing attacks.² New wealth and the life of the rich provided often also the ground for denunciations of tyranny, which was considered especially hostile to the poor, a significant sign of the general change of attitude.³ The political foe of democracy had become the economic foe of the poor.

We shall not assess correctly the general verdict returned on the rich if we fail to realize that the poor were in public opinion those who were unable to live except by the work of their hands, but not those who were starving.⁴ The absolute pauper, the wholly destitute, was called a 'beggar', and he was treated not with pity and charity, but with contempt.⁵ One of the most serious grievances against Euripides is that he brought beggars on to the stage, Telephos who, though a king, appeared in rags, was a favourite target of the comedian's scorn and derision.⁶ Popular feeling considered the sight of a beggar on the stage shocking, though even the realism of Euripides differed from reality to some extent: even in rags a mythical hero was never an Attic beggar. Euripides, in fact, knew of the shame of beggary, while he preached pity for those who were in a beggarly state through being exiled from their native city.⁷ In various ways tragedy had included in its province the economic side of life.

The painter Pauson, who in the course of many years had achieved nothing, is mocked, time and again, not because of his

¹ E 883, 918, frg. 543, Kallias 5.

² e.g., K 1375ff, C 837ff, 991, 1002ff, 1044ff, 1053f, frg. 435, Kratinos 100, Krates 15, Pherekrates 2, 107, 131, Hermippus 76, Plat. 208, Kephisod. 3, adesp. 56, 338-9, 375.

³ W 463ff, Pl. 946ff, and elsewhere.

⁴ Bolkestein, 182ff.

⁵ A 558f, 577ff, 593f, adesp. 39. A victim in comedy of this common attitude is Lamachos. About his poverty, cf. R. Goossens, *L'antiquité class.* XV (1946), 43ff.

⁶ A 415ff, 429, F 842. — Telephos, e.g., A 430ff, 496ff, C. 921f, P. 528, L. 706f, Th. 694f, F 855, 864.

⁷ Eur. *Hel.* 790f. — *Hek.* 1218ff, *Herakl.* 318.

apparently poor art, but because of his poverty.¹ The old-fashioned crook used by old men was at that time called by some people a 'beggar's stick', and was displaced by a fashionable 'Persian' stick.² The blind god of Wealth is a dirty and ailing beggar.³ Zeus created heaven as an immense chimney for sacrifices in order that the gods might not be called — as many despised men were called — 'altar-beggars' who had to beg for the sacrifices.⁴ It appears to be a gross misstatement of some scribblers that the life of beggars and exiled men was better than that of other people.⁵ To eat only dry bread is bad enough, for even the poor were accustomed to some modest extra dish,⁶ but there were worse things. The children beg for bread, or even for the 'finger-cleaning crumbs' which otherwise are thrown to the dogs.⁷ On entering the bath, the beggar will be scalded at once, because he comes in rags and out of the cold.⁸ A favourite object of theft in lonely streets or in the palaestra are cloaks and blankets.⁹ This shows what, after food, the poorest were most in need of.¹⁰ Beggar-poet and beggar-prophet are most eager to get cloaks, chiton, sandals.¹¹ In spite of the Greek climate, which knows, however, very cool nights, it was hard to have only a thin cloak in which one shivered with cold.¹² But the cloak-stealers were starving as well.¹³ Vermin, no bed, no food or only 'dried leaves' — that is a beggar's life.¹⁴ Even at its best, it means that several men share a common sack.¹⁵ Chionides, one of the earliest comedians, wrote a comedy *The Beggars*, in which they get only the driest of the cheap salted fish, a frugal meal, though 'if there is no meat, salted fish is good too'.¹⁶ If one is hungry, and 'there is no flour in the sack', one must go and steal some.¹⁷

¹ A 854, Th 949f, Pl 602. I believe that Aristotle, *poet* 1448a, 6, in saying that Pausan in his pictures made people appear χείρους than they looked in reality, wished to characterize him as a caricaturist *malgré lui*, that is, in fact, as a bad panter. Were there ever in fifth-century Greece professional caricaturists or cartoonists, as it is usually assumed in the case of Pausan?

² frg 127-8.

³ Pl 266f.

⁴ Pherekr 141.

⁵ Isokr X, 8.

⁶ ἀρτοποιεῖν is contrasted with ὀψοφάγειν, Plat 172.

⁷ P 120, Pl 536 — K 414.

⁸ Pl 535, 952ff, frg 345.

⁹ C 179, B 712, cf. 1490ff, A 1166f, E 544, 565, 668ff, Lysias, *frg* 9, 1.

¹⁰ Cf. E 408ff, Pl 842ff, 926f.

¹¹ B 933ff, 946ff, 973f; cf 1421.

¹² adesp. 10 D.

¹³ Kratinos 206.

¹⁴ E.415ff, Pl.535ff. — A 469.

¹⁵ κοινοθυλάκειν, frg 797.

¹⁶ Chionides 5-6. — adesp. 618.

¹⁷ Pl 763. — adesp 434.

Most miserable is he who after all his hardships leaves no money even for his funeral.¹ Thus even a whole State might be reduced to beggary. Megara starved because of the Athenian decree at the beginning of the war, when it was said that it was impossible to obtain even salt and garlic, commodities of which Megara had ample supply in peace-time.²

These are some of the colours in which the picture of beggarly poverty is painted; it is not only a dark picture, but one painted without love and almost without pity. Not mere poverty, but beggarliness, is described in the *Ploutis* as a genuine ground of reproach. Only thrift and work can avail against it.³ These words form a significant analogy to those of Perikles in his Funeral Speech that it is not disgraceful to admit one's poverty, but that it is disgraceful not to avoid it by working.⁴ There is an interesting interpolation in Euripides' *Hiketides*. After some commonplace advice to the rich to consider the poor and to fear an equal fate, the surprising counsel to the poor is added to envy the rich and thus be seized by love of wealth themselves.⁵ The same spirit is expressed in the fact that there is no reference in comedy to alms-giving and private charity. This is largely due to the fact that Greek civilization as a whole knew very little of that commandment which tells us to love our neighbour as ourselves. Religion had no say in the social behaviour of the Greeks, but the structure of Polis society made this deficiency less damaging. We can assume that one reason for the lack of charity was the small number of beggars. It was only because they represented no real social problem that they could earn contempt as idlers instead of pity and help. 'Pity' to whom an altar was erected in the agora was not an expression of social conscience, but of personal feelings, not towards the poor, but towards every unhappy human being.⁶

Only occasionally, and late in our period, might the community feel itself under an obligation to help its poorer mem-

¹ A 691, E 592, Pl 556

² A 535, 731ff, 760ff, 813f. — P 246f. — Megarian Decree see Chapter XII, 3.

³ Pl 548. — 552ff

⁴ Thuc. II, 40, 1

⁵ Eur. *Hik.* 177f. Actually these lines interrupt the advice given to the rich. A plea for mutual tolerance of rich and poor is made in Eur. *frag* 21.

⁶ Altar of Ἐλεος: Paus. I, 17, 1, Diod. XIII, 22, 7 — Cf. Bolkestein, 112ff. — The chief object of pity were suppliants; cf., e.g., Eur. *Hik* 190

bers. We have seen that the public payments were not given for this purpose, and that even distributions of corn and the *diobelia* were chiefly political and demagogic measures. The hardships, however, of the poor became more and more pressing. A genuine concern lay behind the motion brought forward in the women's assembly that during the winter people without beds or blankets should be allowed to sleep in the furriers' shops where enough covering was to be found.¹ The State did provide medical aid,² though it was no 'social service' in the modern meaning of the phrase. One of the State-doctors, Pittalos, was consulted by rich and poor alike.³ Other sources besides comedy speak of these doctors, and we know that some of them were well paid.⁴ It is, however, by no means certain whether they had to give free treatment; if they did, it was to everyone, not to the poor alone. It was difficult, on the other hand, to find the right doctor, and it was well known that physicians, presumably those in private practice, demanded high fees.⁵ 'Apollo the physician may cure them, since he's paid for it.'⁶ Everywhere we find the same outlook, dominated by money, and on the other hand, increasing poverty and pauperization.

3

It is difficult to say how deeply the longing for wealth was rooted in the individual small craftsman or farmer. The testimony of literature begins with Hesiod and Alkman, and the fact that wealth and money are so frequently mentioned shows that poverty and therefore also the desire to make money were always widespread. The poor wanted to be rich, and the rich to have more. 'a purse is insatiable', and it corrupts life.⁷ Even the ideal citizen wants to be rich in order, of course, to be good and useful to other people.⁸ The varied opportunities of trade both on a large or small scale doubtless gave a big impetus to the general desire. The peasants made little money;

¹ E.408ff.² A 1030, cf Xen *mem* IV, 2, 5.³ A 1032, 1222f, W 1432.⁴ Herodot. III, 131. For the public doctors we have also epigraphical evidence, though not from Athens in our period. Cf O Jacob, *Mélanges Glotz*, II. 461ff.⁵ E 363ff. — Pl 406ff⁶ B 584⁷ adesp 660 — B 157f⁸ Xen *oik* II, 9, 11

they usually exchanged their takings at once for goods. The real money-makers were the traders, the shopkeepers and craftsmen, most of whom sold their own products, above all the retailers, whose sole interest was in buying and selling. It was among these people that economic competition and social jealousy found their earliest and strongest expression.

The Pseudo-Xenophon speaks of the people's greed for money: they had introduced the liturgies 'in order to get something for themselves and to impoverish the rich'.¹ Though liturgies and war-tax were heavy burdens, they did little to lessen the economic tension. The demos was not to be satisfied with the right of 'gnawing at the offals of his own realm'.² Poverty proved herself no less blind than Wealth. In times when men might be described as anxious to borrow money without intending to repay it,³ the process of bleeding the rich went on, and finally liturgies ceased to be voluntary gifts and became compulsory services. Eventually indeed the rich found themselves in a dangerous situation. The juries liked to bring in verdicts against the rich.⁴ The possession of wealth became more dangerous than criminal activity, says Isokrates, who in 354 contrasted this state of affairs with the situation when he was a boy, thus showing a fact which comedy confirms, that the decisive change began in the last decade of the Peloponnesian War. A fragment, which may be of a somewhat later date, draws the conclusion which was to become so important for the philosophy and also the religion of the following centuries: 'There is no one happier than the poor man.'⁵ In our period, of course, this meant chiefly that the poor could not be drained of their resources. But ever since Demaratos explained the Greek character to the Persian king by basing it on the fact that 'Greece had always had Poverty as her foster-sister',⁶ the idea that poverty not only meant misery, but also strength and *aretē*, had been alive in Greek thought. It was a moralistic commonplace that money does not make a man happy and that the rich are the slaves of their

¹ E.817ff.

² Ps.-Xen. I, 13.

³ W.672

⁴ B 114ff

⁵ Cf Xen. *symp.* IV, 30

⁶ W 240f, 287f, 575, 626f, and elsewhere

⁷ Isokr. XXI, 12 — XV, 159f.

⁸ *adesp* 1273; cf also Xen. *symp.* IV, 30ff

⁹ Herod. VII, 102, 1

wealth.¹ On the other hand, the importance and usefulness of wealth were compared with the advantages of noble birth or personal character.² It needed only one step further to realize the advantages of poverty.

Nowhere is this view more strikingly expressed than in the scene of Poverty in the *Ploutos*.³ Poverty, generally condemned as a misfortune and humiliation or even as a cause of crime, is described as forcing men to work, and making them strong and enduring, even better and more pious. Thus poverty became the creator of all human achievement and human civilization.⁴ It is typical of the working of the Greek mind that even at a time when the importance of economic factors had become obvious and their impact on social life far stronger than before, the problem of wealth and poverty was essentially regarded as a moral question. Whatever the specific social or economic issue, its influence on the community was primarily one of individual morals. This is probably the chief reason why the Greeks never succumbed to an economic interpretation of political and social life.

The measures taken against the rich did not lead to economic disaster. Though about the end of our period many might think that there was no prospect of economic recovery, as we can see, for example, from a speech by Lysias in 389 B.C.,⁵ the following years and decades proved the contrary to be the case. It is most surprising — especially in the light of modern experience — how easily the danger of inflation passed. The copper coins, introduced in 406, could be withdrawn after thirteen years without great difficulty.⁶ We must assume that other difficulties of which we know nothing were solved just as easily. Athens overcame quickly enough the grave economic crises of the political collapse and its aftermath, and later there was never a social revolution such as occurred in many other Greek States. This was certainly not the result of Athens being a democracy, for public payments and benefactions

¹ Cf., e.g., Eur. *Hek* 622ff, 864ff, *Hik* 875ff.

² See, e.g., Eur. *Hik* 860ff, *El.* 37f, 373ff, 426ff, 941ff, *Phoin.* 404f, 442, *frg.* 248-9, 285, 326.

³ Pl. 415ff.

⁴ E 605ff, Ps.-Xen. I, 5, Eur. *El.* 375f — Pl. 510ff, 527ff, cf. Eur. *Alex* 36, *frg.* 237-8, 248-9, 327.

⁵ Lysias, XXVIII, 15, though he obviously exaggerates.

⁶ F. 720; see above, p. 222. — E. 815ff.

brought the finances of the State more than once to the edge of the precipice. The intention of the oligarchs to abolish all public fees except army pay was justified from the financial point of view, but impracticable because of political and social conditions.¹ The economic stability of Athens rested partly on her rich sources of income, rich owing to the importance of Athenian trade even after the break-up of the empire, and partly on the efficiency of such politicians as Euboulos and Lykourgos, who pursued a sound financial policy, though they always had to be on their guard to satisfy the people's demands.² A book like Xenophon's *Poroi* shows the state of financial, that is of general economic, emergency, as it existed about the middle of the fourth century before the two men tried to relieve it. The demos lived on the State's capital, but its substance was never entirely exhausted; and while the power of the State over private property was clear and far-reaching, it was, in the end, the stability of private economy which saved the State.

We have seen that it became more and more difficult to fill the assembly and the courts, because the majority of the citizens preferred to work and thus to earn more than the few obols offered by the State. This had been the case ever since the general impoverishment after the Peloponnesian War; it was this very reason which induced Xenophon in 354 to write his *Poroi*.³ In fact, the creative power of poverty was not mere fantasy or theory, and it might even strengthen the Panhellenic tendencies of the time. For it seemed worth while to expel poverty from the whole of Hellas,⁴ an idea which, more than a century later, spread social revolution over a large part of Greece.

A real social danger was the impoverishment of the peasants, who were a numerous class; but it did not go beyond a certain point, owing to the situation of the country and the character of its inhabitants. Another danger was the growth in the number of poor townfolk and their equally growing political

¹ Plans of the oligarchs. Thuc. VIII, 65, 3; 67, 3, cf. 69, 4; Arist. *Ath. pol.* 29, 5. For recent discussion of these much disputed constitutional plans see. U. Wilcken, *Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad.* (1935), 34ff. F. Taeger, *Gnomon*, XIII (1937), 347ff. M. Lang, *AJP*, LXIX (1948), 272ff.

² Cf the verdict of Andreades, 376ff.

³ Xen *mem.* II, 8, 1. — *Poroi*, I, 1.

⁴ Pl 463

power. There is no doubt that these imminent dangers brought about a certain change in social and political conditions. Nevertheless, in the tirades against the corruption and blindness of Athenian democracy, whether made by ancient oligarchs or by modern scholars, though they are justified in certain details or even to some extent generally, the facts are neglected, that in spite of short periods of economic distress, Athens throughout the larger part of the fourth century was a prosperous community, and that she experienced no grave social or economic crisis in the two succeeding centuries.¹

This chapter confirms our views based on our investigation into vocational activity and social organization. We realize the unity of a middle class, which spread over town and country, of craftsman and peasant, shopkeeper and trader. Perhaps we should meet one objection. There was a view expressed most clearly in some lines of Euripides that the citizens' body was divided into three parts.² Euripides distinguishes the 'useless' rich who only want to be still richer, the people who, owning nothing, are full of envy and therefore easily seduced by the demagogues, and thirdly those between these two groups who represent the backbone of the State. The only basis on which this division is made is that of property. All other distinctions

¹ This is perhaps rather a sweeping statement, but I think on the whole it holds good, even though the gap between rich and poor had dangerously widened. For a detailed account of the later periods cf. J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (1942) — As an example of modern depreciation of fourth-century democracy see W. Erb, *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, 61 (1937), esp. 685ff, 693ff — Rostovtzeff (see p. 4, note 1) has tried (99ff) to make it clear that conditions increasingly deteriorated during the fourth century, chiefly because of the falling-off of trade, especially export trade. He opposes the view that this century as a whole was a period of economic exuberance. In this he is probably right, but a reasonable prosperity of economic life during the fourth century remains a fact in spite of short periods of distress. Rostovtzeff himself considers the crisis of the last part of the century only a temporary decline, though one which brought about 'the necessity of readjusting' economic life. I do not take Menander as a reliable witness for a new improvement in economic conditions (see p. 42, n. 1), and I believe that Rostovtzeff's view of a gradual economic decline in the fourth century is hardly more justified than Beloch's opposite view. There were ups and downs, but at least as many ups as downs. The 'shrinking of the market for Greek products', which R. makes much more evident than previous writers, may, to some extent, have started before Alexander's death, but even then it was mainly due to new political developments, to the opening of new trade routes and finally to the devastating wars of the Successors.

² Eur. *Hek.* 238ff.

such as family, profession, reputation, or mode of life, are left out. This makes it clear that the whole exposition is purely theoretical. It is the theory of the Mean, the *mesotēs*, which was an important and characteristic feature of Greek political and social thought from Solon to Aristotle.¹ There never existed any distinct social groups or classes to correspond to those three types.² It is, of course, always possible to divide the general scale of property, reaching as it does from nothing at all to a great height, wherever and as often as one likes; but the parts which form the living body of society will never be found in this way. It is true that in the Athenian democracy of our period the middle classes played the most important part. We may also admit that economically some of their members rose to the upper classes and others sank below the average level, but that does not alter the general picture; it does not even touch it. The bulk of the population were those moderately prosperous farmers, artisans, and merchants, of whom we have spoken so frequently.

The tension between rich and poor, though intensified after 403, never destroyed the unity of the people. Rich and poor were groups of one society, and there were no strict boundaries.³ The number of beggars and real paupers, that is of those who were actually below the level of the lower middle-class, remained insignificant throughout the fifth century, but no doubt grew later, in proportion with the generally increasing importance, and the declining value, of money.⁴

¹ Cf Aristotle, *Politics*, 1289b, 29f, 1295b, 1f, 1308b, 29f. He says that in smaller States sometimes there was no *meson*, but only the two extremes (1296a, 9ff, 1304b, 1, 1319b, 12ff). This, again, must be pure theory. — Solon, of course, does not use the word μέσότης, but many of his verses indicate the same conception (e.g., 4, 7, 5, Diehl).

² Newman, *Aristotle's Politics*, I, 4¹¹, rightly objects to any confounding of the μέσος of this type 'with the class which we nowadays group under the comprehensive term "middle-class".'

³ Bolkestein, 183, from another starting-point, comes to exactly the same conclusion.

⁴ Cf Bolkestein, 206ff. I doubt, however, whether the existence of numerous foreign workmen is sufficient to prove that there was no unemployment and 'therefore' no beggars. That would be right only if Athens had had an organized Labour Exchange system. There was no law to prevent an employer, even the State itself, from employing foreign workmen who perhaps were more efficient, even if enough Athenian citizens were available. On the other hand, Plutarch's view (*Per* 12, 5f) shared by many modern writers, that Pericles' building programme

CHAPTER X

RELIGION AND EDUCATION

It lies beyond doubt that during the period of Old Comedy the economic factor became steadily more important in the lives and the minds of the Athenians. This fact cannot be explained merely on economic and social grounds. We must seek the general foundation, that is to say, the general development of mind and intellect upon which the economic and social developments rested.

I

Comedy no less than tragedy formed part of a religious festival, either the Dionysia or the Lenaia, both of which were dedicated to Dionysos.¹ If we think of the god Dionysos as he appears for instance in the *Frogs*, we realize immediately how different Greek 'cult' and 'service' was from anything we are accustomed to connect with these words. This, of course, is familiar, and need not surprise us. The spirit of Greek religion is worlds apart from that of all revealed religions. We must realize this essential fact when we try to ascertain what comedy tells us about Greek religion; but this general fact will not of itself suffice to explain its peculiar quality.

The famous scene in Homer in which Hephaistos catches in a net his unfaithful wife Aphrodite and her lover Ares and exposes them to the laughter of the other gods, leads directly to the ludicrous gods of satyr-drama and comedy, such as the glutton Herakles, the rascal Hermes, the debauched and cowardly Dionysos.² Travesties of myths, though more frequent in Middle Comedy, occur also in Old Comedy more than once. We must beware of interpreting as rationalizing

¹ On the programme of the Dionysia, which alone contained both tragedy and comedy, cf. J. T. Allen, *Univ. of California Publications in Cl. Phil.* XII (1938), 35ff. Cf. also p. 35, n. 4.

² *Od.* VIII, 266ff. — For Dionysos, as depicted by Kratinos, cf. G. Méautis, *Rev. ét. anc.* 36 (1934), 462ff.

blasphemy the comedians' mockery of the gods, nor should we, on the other hand, see it simply as Dionysiac exuberance.

There were, however, spheres of religion and cult where reverent awe or at least naïve faith and devotion prevailed. Moreover, pious sincerity and grotesque caricature met on a common basis which helps to explain both attitudes. This basis, which is the chief characteristic of Greek religious feeling, was a belief in the presence of, and close intimacy with, the gods. It is, for instance, common to appeal to a deity for help by claiming him or her as a fellow worker.¹ Euripides' Iphigeneia compares her love for her brother Orestes with Artemis' love for Apollo.² The comedians depict similar feelings in their own way. In comedy and its various parts it is possible to recognize a considerable survival of old religious rites and ideas. But the *Hieros Gamos*, for instance, the sacred wedding in which the Dionysiac festival culminated, undergoes — if this is the right explanation — a somewhat surprising and profane transformation in the unions of man and woman which form the closing scenes of many comedies. Or, to take a detail, it is rather an amusing example of anthropomorphism when the Athenian women invoke Athena as 'Tritogeneia' (a name which we cannot explain, but which for the Greeks was connected with the sea and water), and beg her to help them in fetching water, if somebody attempts to burn her holy temple. The pious intimacy with the goddess is even stronger here than the comic element.³ And there is no trace of irony or blasphemy in calling a sweet wine 'The Milk of Aphrodite',⁴ nor in the charcoal-burners' invocation of the vigorous Muse of their deme who flashes like the fire on which fish and soup are boiling, nor in Strepsiades' listening to the advice given by the statue of Hermes at his door-step, nor again in Theagenes' consulting the shrine of Hekate every time he leaves his house.⁵ These and other examples reveal the affectionate, almost amorous adoration of human beings who actually lived with their gods.⁶

¹ *συμπαγός*, K 587f, Eur *Med* 395f, *Hipp* 523, *Ion* 48

² Eur. *Iph T.* 1401f.

³ L. 346ff; see also K. 1189 Cf. Wilamowitz, on l. 349

⁴ frg. 596. Here we remember the *Liebfrauenmilch* and *Lacrimae Christi*.

⁵ A. 665ff. — C 1478ff, cf Phryn 58 — L 63f

⁶ Such a feeling is also reflected in Philokleon's craving for the 'neighbour hero' Lykos whose statue and shrine stood near the courts (W. 389, 819ff)

Naturally the close connection between gods and men could find expression also in human fears. Nowhere perhaps are both aspects more strikingly revealed than in Euripides' *Hippolytos*. Artemis is the loving, sister-like companion, Aphrodite the fiendish hater and destroyer. The gods of the myths held intercourse, either friendly or hostile, with men. Euripides used myth to paint the fate to which men have to succumb, and the forces which rule in their hearts. To ordinary men the gods remained gods — near, personal and alive.

This peculiar quality of Greek religious feeling was the ground on which every cult was based. Athens, 'the holy city', was notorious for her many festivals.¹ The 'piety' of the Athenians, no doubt, meant not so much inward vocation and faith as those common bonds of cult which everyone took for granted, the performance of acts which expressed obedience to the foremost of the 'Greek Commandments'. to worship the gods.² This piety was inseparably bound up with the patriotic pride which the citizens took in their city, and which was largely based on their belief that Athens was 'most loved by the gods'.³ It also included the natural elation of those who took part in the Panathenaic procession, and the harmless vanity of women showing off on that occasion their best garments and jewels.⁴ Greek religion provided ample opportunities for all kinds of 'worldly' pleasures because there was no barrier between religion and ordinary life. What religious worship demanded was in the main ritual service of one kind or another. Ritual acts were often based on routine and formula, but in general that, and that alone, was what the people expected and wanted. Greek religion had little concern for morals or for purely personal emotion. It was left to a few

¹ K. 582, 1037, P 1036. — Ps.-Xen. III, 2, 8

² 'The Three Greek Commandments' (a phrase of Headlam's) are σέβειν (or τιμᾶν) θεούς, γονέας, ξένους. Cf, e.g., Pind. *P* 6, 23f, Aisch *Hik* 701ff, *Eum.* 270ff, 590ff, Eur. *Herakl* 236ff, 901ff, *frg* 311, 853. These 'laws' are now usually called νόμοι ἄγραφοι (after Sokrates in Xen *mem* IV, 4, 9f), but I believe this is a misleading name, although it was through ἀνομία that men would cease honouring the gods (Eur. *Her* 757ff, 779, *Iph T* 275ff). I read a paper on the question of the νόμοι ἄγραφοι in Cambridge in 1945, but I must leave a more thorough investigation to a later opportunity.

³ K 565f, B 826f — Eupolis 307. Cf. also the polite inquiry of the messenger in Eur. *El* 795, whether foreigners were allowed to sacrifice together with the citizens.

⁴ L. 640ff, 1189ff

outstanding minds to see a deeper meaning and a higher purpose in the world of the gods. Hardly anything of that was known to either official or popular religion, both of which can only be discussed in their own terms and their own forms.¹

The Greek 'Man in the Street' clung firmly to the traditional forms which were followed in everyday life no less than in religious festivals. None of these rituals were more sacred than those for the dead. It is natural that they play such an important part in tragedy, while they are not even mentioned in comedy.² The comedians provide us with characteristic examples of other rituals. Thus every citizen took care of his *eiresione*, a branch of olives, adorned with sacred bands and autumnal fruits, which was fixed on the house-door.³ Everybody knew something about the chief rites, for example that at a sacrifice the animal's tongue had to be cut out.⁴ At the feast of the Dipolia the worshippers wore in their hair the gold cicalas which had been the fashion of the sixth century.⁵ Nikias, a representative of the old strict faith, preferred to invoke the ancient images of the gods; to him and others like him the statues of Pheidias were without real sanctity.⁶ Meton's reform of the calendar was opposed for reasons of religion and cult.⁷ The runners who came in last in the torch-race at the Panathenaea were thrashed; originally an old rite, it had lost its religious meaning and become crude popular fun.⁸ These are a few of the rituals and their implications mentioned in comedy.

¹ G. Keller, *Die Komodien des Aristophanes und die athen Volksreligion* (Diss. Zurich, 1931) makes the fundamental (though widespread) mistake of assuming that there are two exclusive alternatives: the original fertility rites with their natural obscenity on the one hand, a rational moralism on the other, for which most of the gods — in particular (of all gods!) Dionysos and Zeus — were no longer real. There is a good deal between these two extremes. Keller realizes some of the disintegrating forces, but his picture as a whole is simplified to such an extent that it is practically false.

² The importance of burial in tragedy needs no expounding. Detailed rites are mentioned, e.g., throughout Euripides' *Alkestis*.

³ K 728f, cf W 399, Pl 1054.

⁴ P.1060, B 1705.

⁵ C.984f.

⁶ ῥῑῑῑῑ, K.30ff, cf L 262. They are the ῑῑῑῑῑ, the ancient wooden images of the gods. — There is perhaps an allusion to Pheidias' statue in the sausage-seller's boast that the goddess has hollowed out 'with her ivory hand' the pieces of bread which he provides as spoons. 'What a mighty finger you must have, revered Lady', is Demos' reply (K 1168ff).

⁷ C 615ff.

⁸ F.1089ff, fig 442.

Prayers and sacrifices mark the beginning of all important actions. They are often represented in comedy,¹ but there is little of that genuine religious feeling which is, for example, expressed by the chorus in Euripides' *Elektra*. 'Not by moaning but by prayers and by worshipping the gods will you achieve happiness.'² Silent prayers are also mentioned. The sausage-seller prays to very peculiar goblins, but we should like to know to what deities Perikles prayed when he was about to speak in the assembly.³ Sacred rights are mentioned such as that of the asylum for slaves in the Theseion or in the sanctuary of the *Semnai*.⁴ We hear of public and private visits to Delphi and other oracles.⁵ Women were specially devout and played a great part in religious life.⁶ 'Again and again the old women offer sacrifices.' The Eleusinian mysteries were based on deeper religious feeling and higher moral demands than other cults, but there also was a strict ritual for the initiated.⁸ The choruses sung by the initiates in Hades, which were similar to the sacred songs of Athens and Eleusis, reveal the spirit of the mysteries and their ethical demands.⁹ Herakles knows all about the initiates in Hades — naturally, since he was helped in his fight for Kerberos by being an initiate himself.¹⁰ Dionysos feels 'the most mystical breeze' of the torches, while the slave smells only the whiff of pork.¹¹ On the other hand, the idea of sacrificing a pig just before one's death and so becoming initiated in order to enjoy the special advantages of another world is a comic exaggeration of a real and generally accepted belief.¹² The torn clothes also, apparently a symbol of the cult, give the chorus a chance to jest about their erotic

¹ e.g., W 860ff, P.431ff, 923ff, 1320ff, frg. 165, Kratinos 21, Plat 174, adesp. 372

² Eur. *El* 195ff

³ K.634ff (cf. 638. φροντίζοντί μοι), Plut *Per* 8, 6

⁴ K 1312, Th 224

⁵ K 1229f, 1272f, C 624f, W 158ff, B 188f, 618f, ~16, Pl.21, adesp 460, 8 D.

⁶ Cf L 1ff, 640ff, Th *passim*, Eur *frg.* 13 P, 8ff

⁷ Pherekr. 35. πάλιν αὐθις ἀναθύουσιν αἱ γ. παῖτεραι. The text is doubtful. Liddell and Scott take as probable ἀναθυῶσιν, because γράυς ἀναθυῶ was a proverbial saying, alluding to what is now called the 'dangerous age' of a woman (Diogen IV, 10, cf. Phot., p 118 R). In that case the quotation has no relevance to our context

⁸ Cf Andok. I, 110ff.

⁹ F 320, 324ff, 447ff, 454ff

¹⁰ F 154ff, Eur *Her.* 613

¹¹ F 313f, 337f

¹² P 374f.

advantages and the god's meanness.¹ Jokes like these do not touch on the real character of the mysteries, the belief in which was deeply rooted. The rites of other mystery-cults are also derided, while, on the other hand, a man could rely on the prayer of an initiate of the Samothracian mysteries in order to win the support of the gods of Samothrake.² The Orphic cosmogony is ridiculed, while Aischylos in the *Frogs* mentions Orpheus as a teacher of mysteries and moral rules, though only as one of the old poets to whom the Greeks owe their code of ethics.³ The deep devotion to the Eleusinian mysteries and the general religious fervour of the Athenians were most clearly displayed in the enormous excitement at, and the dangerous consequences of, the two religious crimes of the year 415. Years afterwards, the families of the Eumolpidae and Kerykes, which were closely connected with Eleusis, opposed the return of Alkibiades.⁴ This was no doubt partly due to personal politics, but their opposition would never have been so formidable, if the people had not held the Eleusinian cult in undisputed reverence.

All these passages reveal a significant mixture of pious devotion, utilitarian consideration and good-natured fun. Men and gods, profane and sacred matters, were never separated; they were even connected by the needs of everyday life and by quite realistic desires. In comedy, as is natural, the culinary side of cult is stressed above all. Dikaiopolis, for instance, leads the gay phallic procession of his rural Dionysia to dinner and a drinking-bout, Strepsiades at another rural *fête* fries sausages for his family.⁵ Old and poor men soak up their very frugal soup with small pieces of bread on the festival of Theseus.⁶ Sausages play a great part in the Apatouria also, and soup does in the Panathenaia.⁷ It is important that the animal, which is to be sacrificed, should be fat and fleshy.⁸ The distribution of meat after the sacrifice is essential for the citizens, who usually lived on an almost meatless diet, and the gods could be made to complain that men ate all the good

¹ Pl 845 and schol — F 404ff Radermacher explains '*Der Gott sieht auf das Herz und nicht das Gewand*', hardly to the point. He overlooks ἐπὶ γέλωτι (404), and does not do justice to the whole tenor of the passage.

² C 254ff, 302ff, 457ff — P 277f

³ B 693ff — F.1030ff.

⁴ Thuc VIII, 53, 2

⁵ A 202, 237ff — C 408ff

⁶ Pl 627f

⁷ A 146, cf. Th. 558 — C 386

⁸ L.83f

because to them there was no dividing line between 'true' beliefs and mere superstitions. The divine oracle which was first taught to men by Mousaios and thus considered to belong to the oldest and most sacred traditions of mankind, was not only on the same level as the usual rites of worship,¹ but almost on the same level as the utterances of professional prophets and vagrant soothsayers, or the omens given by birds, by dreams and even by prophetic fish.² The Athenian people were, in fact, greedy for omens and oracles, and it is understandable that the comic poet directed his satire against this attitude. He certainly distinguished between the pronouncements of Delphi and the ordinary pronouncements and omens which in the eyes of the people had something of the same validity.³ When the owl, the bird of Athena, appeared, the goddess and her help were near.⁴ The oracles given in the name of Bakis or a Sibyl, and spread by the book-trade, came to have great influence on public opinion.⁵ The soothsayers liked to emphasize, if possible, that their words corresponded with some of Apollo's oracles, and sometimes they pretended that their utterances were of Delphic origin.⁶ This shows that their patrons still preferred Apollo's authority, but it must have been obvious to almost everybody that most of these pronouncements were not Delphic. Of course, the more ambiguous, the more puzzling and mysterious the sayings were, so much the better, it was then easy to interpret them in the most appropriate way.⁷ Sacrifices and prophecies were the natural prelude to any great enterprise.⁸ In war-time the practice of consulting the oracles became exceedingly popular with both State and individuals, and Thucydides as well as

¹ F. 1033. — Xen. *mem.* I, 4, 2

² C. 332, P. 1046ff, B 521, 959ff, Eupolis 211-12, 297, Ameips 10, Kallias 14, Lysipp 6 — Pherekr 39, Archipp 15, also B 719ff. On the prophetic fish cf O. Weinreich, *Arch f. Rel.-wiss.* XXVII (1929), 57.

³ Cf H. W. Parke, *The Delphic Oracle*, 207f, who perhaps overstates the satirical attitude of Aristophanes towards Delphi.

⁴ W 1085f.

⁵ K 61, 109ff, 195ff, 997ff, P 1070ff, 1095, 1116, 1119, B 962, 970. Cf O. Kern, *Religion der Griechen*, II, 140ff.

⁶ K. 220 — 1015f, 1047, 1072, 1229.

⁷ K 202ff, 1041ff

⁸ Cf., e.g., Eur. *Herakl.* 399ff. In 443 B.C. it was the colonization of Thourioi, in 415 the Sicilian expedition, which caused the same kind of activity. Cf *ASP*, LXIX (1948), 164f.

the comedians speak of the *chresmologoi*, the soothsayers who sang their oracles for a living everywhere in the streets.¹ There were books on the art of prophecy from which a clever man could learn the business and then make a great deal of money.²

Apart from their political character, oracles had wide and considerable influence on the events of everyday life. It was therefore an advantage of the sausage-seller's oracles as compared with those of the Paphlagonian that they were not only political, but were compounded with 'porridge, young mackerel, fraudulent flour-sellers'³ — that is to say the everyday joys and sorrows of the inquirers, most of whom were much more interested in their own petty economic struggle than in State-affairs. There were methods other than these solemn oracles to influence everyday life. Already Magnes speaks of interpreters of dreams; they charged only two obols, so that they were obviously not quite on the same level as the 'prophets'.⁴ Omens by birds were important for enterprises of all descriptions, such as sea-trade, money-making, marriage.⁵ Bad omens were numerous; earthquakes, lightning and eclipses were among them, but also a stumbling over the threshold, a cat crossing the road, or

if a mouse tore through a mud-built altar-stone,
or gnawed for want of better food a bag,
or if a cock crew late at eventide.⁶

It is not surprising that more enlightened individuals were ready to joke about all this superstition and to say that it would be much more of a miracle 'if the bag had eaten the mouse'.⁷

¹ Thuc. II, 8, 2, 21, 3; cf. VIII 1, 1. — P 1047, B 960

² Isokr. XIX, 5f This recalls the charges of venality raised in various tragedies against Teiresias; see above, p 234

³ K. 1005ff.

⁴ Magnes 4, W. 52

⁵ B. 717ff; cf. Antiphon V, 81ff, Xen *mem* I, 1, 14.

⁶ Thuc. II, 8, 2, VII, 50, 4 — Eur *Herakl* 730, E 791f, adesp 341

⁷ Arkesilaos 1 D. Mr B. S. Page suggests that the Arkesilaos of this fragment, quoted from Bion by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom* VII, 4, 24), may have been the great philosopher, and not a comic poet about whom we do not know anything except the remark in Diog Laert. IV, 45: γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς Ἀρκεσίλαοι ποιητῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, κτλ There is much to be said for this view The saying in question is reported as a joke of Arkesilaos (παιζῶν), and it seems to correspond with the general attitude of his scepticism. He was famous for his quick and witty mind; besides, 'he also took up poetry'

On the whole, the comedians abstain from expressing doubts on oracles and superstitious omens, while this is very common in Euripides.¹ It is certain that, in this as in other things, the comic poets were close to the minds of ordinary people. Such a man could ask himself 'What unlucky thing did I meet when I went out this morning?'² Certain omens, though perhaps not that single drop of rain which Dikaiopolis felt, sufficed to close the assembly.³ Belief in magic powers and ritual belonged to the same sphere of faith. It was a widespread view that the dead man whom one wished to hear one's words had to be addressed three times.⁴ Magic was practised in various ways, a favourite tool being magic rings.⁵ Miracles were not unknown. Especially famous were the Thessalian sorceresses who could be hired for certain occasions; they were probably also largely responsible for love-potions and similar things.⁶

These incidental examples clearly reveal the considerable importance of the 'lower' forms of religion,⁷ and show us that, in that age as everywhere and always, the so-called 'higher'

(Diog. Laert. IV, 30). Belief in the bad omen of a mouse gnawing through a bag was widespread (cf. Theophr. *char.* 16, 6, Cic. *de divin.* II, 59), and the same sort of ironic criticism as here quoted from Bion (who, with all his changing from one school to another, was a sceptic like Arkesilaos) occurs, e.g., in Plutarch (*Lak. apophthm.* 224e), Cicero (*de divin.* II, 62), and as *illud elegantius dictum* Catonis (Augustinus, *de doctr. Christ.* II, 31). It seems not unlikely that the father of this argument was rather the famous philosopher than an otherwise completely unknown comedian. On the other hand, the words *θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὸν μῦθον ὁ θύλαξ κατέφαγεν* seem to be a verse of exactly the kind quoted by Clement some lines previously, describing this very sort of superstition, and these verses no doubt come from a comedy (adesp. 341). The philosopher wrote epigrams, but it is difficult to imagine that he composed comic trimeters.

¹ Cf., e.g., *Hipp.* 1058f, *Hel.* 744ff, 759f, *Iph. A.* 520, 956f, *Ba.* 255ff, *frg.* 795. Especially interesting is Euripides' characterization of Teiresias in the *Bakchai*. He has little love for this type of orthodox cleric who makes concessions to rationalistic arguments (cf. Grube, 404. E. R. Dodds, *The Bacchae of Euripides*, 87).

² F. 196.

³ A 170f.

⁴ F. 1175f, cf. 184, 305f.

⁵ Pl. 884, *frg.* 250, Kratinos 299, Eupolis 87, Ameips 27.

⁶ C 749ff, — Antiphon I, 17ff, and above, p. 198, n. 9.

⁷ Prescriptions such as not to eat figs during the heat (*frg.* 463, Pherekr. 80, Nikoph. 12), or to avoid onion and lentil soup in winter (adesp. 367-8), hardly derive from superstition, but are based on supposedly dietetic reasons which, however, it would be difficult to discover, they are, in fact, simply humorous, forbidding just the suitable sort of food.

Clouds of Aristophanes that it is correct to regard the death of Sokrates as a result of the resistance to a movement which, in spite of considerable internal divergencies, we may treat as one, the activity of 'the sophists'. To a large number, at least, of the Athenian people the spirit of the movement was exemplified most clearly, perhaps also most strangely and in its most irritating form, in Sokrates. It comes to the same thing (though stress is laid on the political aspect) when many years later Aischines addressed the people thus: 'You put to death Sokrates the sophist, because he was shown to have been the teacher of Kritias, one of the Thirty who put down the democracy.'¹

It is well known that the Platonic Sokrates in his defence referred to that enemy of his who wrote the *Clouds*,² while Plato, when he composed the *Symposion*, can hardly have believed that Aristophanes was in any decisive degree an accessory, even an unwilling accessory, to the disaster which befell his beloved teacher. This apparent change of judgment can perhaps be explained by a change in the general mind, in particular in the attitude of the Athenians to Sokrates' teaching.³ In that respect, the rule of the Thirty made a very great difference. The comedy of 423 became part of the tragedy of 399, but it remained a comedy, that is to say, an essentially irresponsible piece of poetry. Plato never forgot that We, however, must ask why in the play Sokrates of all men was chosen as the representative of a movement (which incidentally is ill-understood and seriously misrepresented), whereas he is depicted by Plato as the most passionate and most formidable enemy of that movement, an intellectual enemy indeed both to the moderate earlier sophists, such as Protagoras and Gorgias, and to such younger radicals as Thrasymachos and Kallikles —

¹ Aischines I, 173

² Plato, *apol.* 18 B, 19 C

³ This view has been elaborated by Wolfg. Schmid, *Philologus*, 97 (1948), 209ff, who finds the picture of comedy essentially that of the true Sokrates. There is some justification for this view, and something will be presently said about it. Schmid is, however, mistaken in assuming that Sokrates at the age of 45, when, for instance, Alkibiades had been one of his pupils, was still, or at least had been recently, devoted to natural philosophy only. Neither can I quite follow B. Snell who suggests (*ibid.*, 125ff) that Sokrates as early as 430 taught that virtue was knowledge, but had not yet realized the difference between his 'true' knowledge and that of the sophists

the latter a 'great' man and, though a product only of Plato's mind, a spiritual relation of Alkibiades and Kriias.

The answer to this question has frequently been found in the appearance and behaviour of the real Sokrates. He seems to have lent himself naturally to travesty, the more so since no other philosopher was so well known to the general public as this man, who in streets and palaestra entered into conversation with the most varied types of men and youths, who made himself in fact something of a nuisance to everyone engaged about his own business.¹ This explanation, however, cannot suffice when we recall that the *Clouds* holds up to derision a Sokrates who never existed, and neglects some of the most obvious features, both novel and irritating, of the historical person. It has been maintained that the Sokrates of the *Clouds* is not Sokrates at all, but an example of the comic type of the 'vaga-bond sophist', but that, too, cannot be accepted as a full explanation.² There are undoubtedly features of the comic figure which, however exaggerated, fit Sokrates far better than the sophists. Only he who never taught for money and liked to walk bare-footed, and not one of the elegant sophists who took high fees, could be depicted as a starving pauper.³ It is he to whose teaching the 'know thyself' refers which Strepsiades has learnt to use as a maxim.⁴ There are a few other allusions, but what the Sokrates of the *Clouds* is chiefly concerned with, has very little indeed to do with the historical person. It is more in fun than with any specially offensive purpose, and at any rate far from the truth, that Sokrates and his pupils are represented as stupidly splitting hairs in argument, or as strange observers of sky and stars, 'star gossipers', out of touch with the realities of life.⁵ The sophists, in general, are seen as gossips, or rather prattlers, and their chief art is that of quibbling.⁶ Both these activities, however typical of the Sokrates of comedy, 'prattling' and 'measuring the air', are, in fact, sometimes charged against the real Sokrates also,

¹ C 359ff

² ἀλαζών σοφός, C 102, cf. Kratinos 380. Criticism of this view goes at least as far back as A. Korte, *Bursians Jahresber.* 152 (1911), 238f.

³ See above, p. 234. In general cf. W. Schmid, *l.c.*

⁴ C.842

⁵ fig. 386. This meaning of μετεωρολόσχης and the evidence of Aristophanes are omitted in Liddell and Scott.

⁶ λεπτολογία, Hermipp 22, cf. fig. 490.

but that may easily have happened under the influence of the *Clouds*.¹ The worship of Ether and Clouds, and the denial of Zeus, are on a different plane. Nothing is more of a justification of the final punishment in the play, and nothing proved more disastrous in determining the actual fate of Sokrates, than the fact that the thinkers 'sinned against the gods'.² Significantly enough these words of Strepsiades are the last words spoken before the chorus leaves the stage. All this certainly implies a common misunderstanding of Sokrates, not so much on the poet's part, for he will have known better, but on the part of the audience for whose judgment and taste he wrote, the ordinary citizens with their traditional religious thought and feeling. There can be no doubt that public opinion — and not without some justification — thought of Sokrates as one of those who undermined traditional beliefs. He remembered in his last moment the cock he owed to Asklepios; whatever the meaning of this vow, the man who died with these words was neither an atheist nor did he despise the rituals of public worship. But his ethical rationalism taught him to listen to the voice in his own mind, and it was indeed 'the god within us' who in men like Sokrates and Euripides was working as the great force which gradually destroyed the rule of the Olympians.³ Without understanding what was happening, the people felt the danger. It is for this reason that there breathes in the *Clouds* the air of the lawsuits in which Anaxagoras and others like him at that period were prosecuted on grounds of impiety.⁴

The identification of Sokrates with the sophists, though at first surprising, becomes somewhat comprehensible if we remember those points in their methods and in their contribution to the evolution of the Greek mind which are in a sense similar — dialectics, aversion from the old religion, attacks on traditional views, the principle of man's own knowledge and

¹ C. 1480, F. 1491ff, Eupolis 352-3 — C. 225 — Xen. *oik.* II, 3

² C. 1509

³ This is as far as I would agree with the definition of Sokrates' *δαίμόνιον* as a religious experience, and of Sokrates (not only of Plato) as an essentially religious mind, as expounded in the deep and stirring book by R. Guardini, *Der Tod des Sokrates* (third ed., 1948; also in English translation)

⁴ It is perhaps significant that Plutarch in the same paragraph in which he speaks of Diopiteithes' law against philosophers like Anaxagoras also mentions that it was a comic poet, Hermippos, who accused Aspasia of impiety (*Per.* 32, 1)

judgment. Of all this the play gives us hardly more than a few superficial features, but perhaps enough to enable us to understand the poet's real intention. In accordance with popular misconceptions, in accordance also with the comedian's natural desire to make as much fun as possible of the 'philosophers', though at the same time in order to denounce the spirit rather than the man, Aristophanes attacked Sokrates as the true sophist, as the incarnation of all sophists.¹ Thus, for instance, all sophists are said to be dirty and unkempt, though in fact they were not.² Both parties are brought nearer to each other and made similar. By adopting this or a like point of view, it has been possible for later writers to draw historical conclusions entirely contradictory of the usual moral judgment. It is well known that Hegel, and many writers since, have sided with Aristophanes, or rather with Sokrates' real accusers, against Sokrates. In doing so they overlooked the fact that the real Sokrates actually fought for the old ideals with new weapons and for new reasons. In part, however, these ideals, too, were filled with new meaning. the ideals of *arete*, *eusebeia* and *sophrosyne*, of goodness, piety and self-control.

All such questions, or rather the one great question of the historic Sokrates, are not only very hard to answer, but they lie, in fact, outside the scope of the problems which we are discussing here. So we may leave this aspect of the question, the more as, no matter to what other conclusions we may come, one fact at least is incontestable: the poet could safely depict Sokrates as a sophist, even as the very embodiment of the sophists, and be sure of interesting the people in this picture. This remains true in spite of the failure of the *Clouds* and its having to be rewritten because the poet found the play

¹ This does not mean, as one of my reviewers put it (*American Hist. Rev.* LI, 1946, 293) that I prefer 'to convict Aristophanes of intellectual dishonesty rather than of misunderstanding' (cf. also the similar view expressed by Professor Greene *AJP* LXV, 1944, 268). Why should the comedian, who could not know what was to happen twenty-four years later, not have chosen to depict Sokrates as the absurd sophist just because the people saw him like that? There was no moral compulsion whatsoever for him to describe in their true colours anybody or anything he wanted to ridicule. It is for this reason that I try in general to find the facts not in but behind the plot. — For Aristophanes' conception of Sokrates cf. also the beginning of the 91st chapter of Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (cited by Meder, note 58).

² C 835ff, B 1554f

too subtle for his audience.¹ The play which won the second prize, while the *Clouds* took the third place, was the *Konnos* of Ameipsias, and this was also an attack on Sokrates. The choice of subject is really more significant than all the details of distortion and caricature. Sokrates was, as it were, in the limelight many years before his trial. He was not only a teacher of some of the best brains among Athenian youth, he was also a popular figure, a man in whose ideas and absurdities the people took a lively interest. The trial of Sokrates is one of the outstanding events of the history of the human mind and the spiritual freedom of man. But our concern is not Sokrates. It is his opponent and executioner, the Athenian people, with whom we are concerned. However strong or feeble the reasons were which induced the court to condemn Sokrates, they will be better understood if we understand the people's mind.

We have seen the peculiar and contradictory part which religion played in the Athens of 400 B.C. The question now arises as to how far the people's attitude to Sokrates' teaching reflected their general intellectual interests. The point is not so much what the people thought of Sokrates, whether, for instance, they believed, because of his alleged lack of cleanliness and physical care, that he was one of the 'Laconisers', a partisan of the oligarchs.² It is more important to discover what the average citizen thought for himself, how far, in fact, intellectual problems, questions of instruction and education, were present to the mind of the public.³ Even contemporary society realized that Athens, 'the most brilliant of cities', stood out among the Greek States for her beauty and spirit.⁴ Athens provided the best soil for every kind of intellectual and artistic endeavour. The comic poet derides the man who does not know Athens, or if he knows her, does not love her, or if he loves her, does not stay there.⁵ He says in other words what Perikles says in his Funeral Speech when he calls Athens 'the School of Hellas'.⁶

¹ C 520ff, W 65

² B 1281f. This is a point which Snell finds also in Ps. Xenophon (II, 19), and he compares Plato, *Prot.* 352 D (*Philologus*, 97, 1948, 125ff).

³ These questions were referred to in Chapter I and will now be more closely investigated.

⁴ *adesp.* 44, 340

⁵ *Lysipp.* 7.

⁶ *Thuc.* II, 41, 1

3

Even acquaintance with a few comedies shows that, in the intellectual sphere, public interest was focused not on abstract thought, but on literary art, above all on the theatre, and equally on tragedy and comedy. This, of course, is understandable, though our impression may be somewhat distorted by the fact that it rests on the evidence of comedy. It is perhaps harder to understand why the most artistic of all people talked very little about sculpture and painting. The Greeks of the fifth century had not yet a theoretical, 'aesthetic', approach to art. We shall see that it was different with literature. Sculptors and painters were to them in general gifted craftsmen, and the questions they asked of a piece of art were less sophisticated, or at least less 'artistic', than we might expect. It is significant that in Euripides' *Ion* the chorus, while admiring the sculptures of the temple, are interested only in the subjects represented, and not in the sculptor's art.¹ When in the *Hekabe* the queen tells Agamemnon 'to stand back like a painter' and thus to view her woes, we feel that the poet is at least interested in the work of the painter, though again hardly in his art.²

We turn to the people's attitude to thought and literature. There are a few allusions to the 'present-day sky-philosophers'.³ Kratinos in his *Panoptai*, the 'All-Seers', attacks the philosopher and physicist Hippon, *inter alia* by quoting the ideas of memory and forgetfulness which play a part also in the Socratic pedagogy in the *Clouds*.⁴ Anaxagoras, though he must have been fairly well known after his trial and expulsion, is mentioned only once, as the alleged teacher of Euripides, and so is Damon as the teacher of Perikles.⁵ Protagoras is derided as the scoundrel who speaks solemnly about the celestial, but eats with excellent appetite of the terrestrial.⁶ Prodikos is considered the most important of the sophists, but is called as pernicious as any book or chatterbox.⁷ The 'foreign words'

¹ Eur. *Ion* 182ff, cf 232f; similarly about the βαρβάρων ὑφάσματα in the temple treasure (1158ff), γραφή in 271 is a book rather than a painting

² Eur. *Hek.* 807f.

³ C 360

⁴ Kratinos 151ff, especially 154 — C 482ff

⁵ frg 676 b (Kock, III, p 725), Plat. 191

⁶ Eupolis 146

⁷ C 360f, B.692 — frg 490.

which 'deceive the people' seem to refer to the famous Panhellenic speech of Gorgias, though he is not mentioned by name.¹ Sokrates is once called 'the Melian'; it seems that the audience knew of the atheism of the poet Diagoras the Melian, though his trial and banishment took place some years later.² These few passages, apart from the *Clouds*, confirm what we have so far taken for granted, that the public was acquainted with the prominent sophists and with some of their doctrines.

We have emphasized that the teaching of the sophists had a wide influence; but as far as the ordinary people were concerned, it naturally remained superficial. I doubt whether we are justified to say of the Athenians in general that they were 'enthusiastic about abstract thought'.³ Of science most people knew nothing, and the complete blankness of Strepsiades' mind when he hears of astronomy and geometry reflects, though in comic exaggeration, the widespread ignorance of what was supposed to be an important part of the teaching of some of the sophists.⁴ There was, however, one kind of science which, being the most clearly 'applied' science of all, made its influence strongly felt, and that was medicine. It influenced the sophists and various writers and thus indirectly the general public, but it had also its direct effects.⁵ Its impact on the tragedians and on Thucydides is a well-known fact, and it is not surprising to find Aristophanes, too, using technical medical terms taken from both Ionian and Hippocratic teaching.⁶ He, of course, does so not because he wants to show off, but for the sake of comic effect. This shows that even puns on unusual expressions and allusions to purely medical issues were received with understanding.⁷ Greek

¹ A 634f.

² C 830 — B.1072ff and schol

³ Grube, 125

⁴ Cf. Eur. *frag.* 910.

⁵ It seems that the antithesis νόμος — φύσις owed its origin mainly to medical writers, cf. F. Heinimann, *Nomos und Physis* (1945). The medical theory, on the other hand, of μοναρχία and ισονομία (Alkmaion 4; cf. *P.-W.*, Suppl. VII, 296) shows the influence of political life and thought on medical science.

⁶ Cf. H. W. Miller, *TAPA*. 76 (1945), 74ff. He has collected the relevant (and some irrelevant) material from Aristophanes, and the examples in the next note are quoted from his article.

⁷ Puns, e.g., C.74: ἵππερος — ἵκτερος, L 1085 ἀσκητικόν — ἀσκιτικόν, technical terms, e.g., W.277, L 987; F 1280 βουβωνιάω, suffer from swollen glands, K 907: ἐλκῦδριον, ulcer, L 553, 846: τέτανος, obscene use of 'convulsion', K.381: χαλαζάω, to have tubercles; F 939ff. medical terms applied on poetry; and many other passages.

doctors in general did not speak 'doctors'-Latin', and ordinary people were able to pick up something of their language and its technical terms. It was only natural that everybody took an interest in what the doctor said.

Popular knowledge of tragedy and literature in general was based on deeper foundations. According to Greek belief, the poets were originally the true sophists, the 'wise men'.¹ 'To be in the company of wise men' like Euripides is a favourite aspiration of the ordinary citizen.² Both tragedy and comedy in themselves prove the high level of understanding and judgment which the poets might expect from their audience, though there was always a grateful public for obscene and crude jokes as well.

The comic poets had their share in sharpening the mind of the people for the subtleties of literary criticism. Wherever one turns in comedy, literary quotations, allusions and parodies abound, some of them unlikely to be intelligible to the average listener, though by far the greater number must have been. It is quite impossible to mention all of them. The number of references to the works of Euripides alone affords a strong proof of his immense popularity. Some of the quotations from him — Alkestis' famous words, for instance — were commonly known even many years after the performance of that play.³ There are other poets besides Euripides who are frequently quoted or mentioned, censured or praised: Sophokles, Aisopos, who was very popular and whose fables were learned by heart in the schools, but who later almost ceased to be read, and many others, famous or little known.⁴ It seems that the model for the sycophant's song in the *Birds*

¹ P 700, 798, F 883, Kratinos 2, Eupolis 447, Plat 140.

² Th 21

³ A 893f = Eur *Alk* 367f; cf also K.16 = Eur *Hipp.* 345. On other occasions Aristophanes refers to last year's plays, e.g., in the *Thesmophoriazousai* of 411 to *Andromeda* and *Helena*, performed in 412 (the chorus Th 1015ff — Th.911 = *Hel* 365. See schol Th 1012, 1060).

⁴ Sophokles, e.g. C 257, Eupolis 36, Phryn 31 — Aisopos W 566, 1259, 1401ff, 1446ff, P 129, B 471, 651ff, Plat 68 — Others: A 120, C 534ff, P 803f, 835, 1012f, B 807, 926f, Th 159ff, 168ff, F 661, frg 151, 32 D, Kratinos 6, 324a, Pherekr 153, Eupolis 139, 361, Plat. 128 — Gilbert Murray, *Greek Studies*, 24, regards C 534ff, the reference to Elektra's recognition of her brother's hair, as a reference not to Aischylos' *Choephorai* but to the *logos*, the old and famous story. But Aristophanes is expressly looking for 'equally clever spectators'; thus it seems that the allusion is to a play.

can be recognized in a badly damaged fragment of Alkaios. Most of the quotations are parodies, especially those from tragedy; a special word was coined for tragic parody.² It was often hard for the listeners to perceive the wit or to recognize the original when a poet's whole style was parodied instead of the actual wording being given and individual characters being misrepresented.³ Moreover, the quotations were seldom mere repetitions of sayings which might have stuck in the memory or been put down during the performance.⁴ Sometimes they were comic and irrelevant recitations, but frequently a vivid interest in literary personalities and aesthetic problems is apparent.⁵

The changes and reforms which a poet has introduced can be described.⁶ The tragedian Agathon produces a complete aesthetic theory, according to which the poet is himself to live like the figures of his plays and even to reproduce the details of their appearance.⁷ To some extent, Euripides in the *Acharnians* practises the same methods. This theory, which in Agathon's case arises from his lack of imagination, is based on a sophistic doctrine which, of course, was originally to be interpreted quite differently: 'One can only work, that is to say, make poetry [in Greek the word is the same] according to one's own nature.'⁸ The tragic poet, from deeper insight, claims that it is Eros who teaches a poet, even if he until then was a man 'alien to the Muses'.⁹

Whole comedies, such as the *Thesmophoriazousai* and the *Frogs*, are mainly concerned with the art of poetry. The subject and intention of other literary comedies defy reconstruc-

¹ Alkaios 75 Diehl, B 1410ff, cf. S Srebrny, *Eos* XLI (1940-46), 104ff

² παρὰ τὸ τραγῳδεῖν, Strattis 3 D

³ e.g., Th 101ff. Material can be found in A C Schlesinger, *AJP* 58 (1937), 294ff, and *TAPA* 67 (1936), 296ff. Cf also the parody of the *Antigone* by Eupolis, 41 P, 14ff

⁴ Cf. C 1369ff, Th 194 — F 151.

⁵ Irrelevant recitation, e.g., C 335ff.

⁶ frg 641.

⁷ Th 149ff; cf also frg 42 (b) P = 33 (b) D. οἷα μὲν ποιεῖ λέγειν, τοῖός ἐστιν

⁸ Th 167 — In a more popular and trivial manner the same theory seems to be expressed in a few lines of Euripides' *Hiketides* (180ff), which, however, are probably an interpolation. There it is said that the ὑμνοποιός must be happy in order to cause happiness

⁹ ἄμουσος, Eur frg 663

again; the spectators also knew how to distinguish between play and performance, and criticized the actors.¹

A recipe for the preparation of one dish out of the three tragedians combines, it seems, the whole of Sophokles and the whole of Euripides with part of Aischylos, a mixture to which salt was to be added.² This would indeed have been a dish to the popular taste. The enthusiasm of the Athenians for their theatre is a well-known fact, and the constant attacks on Euripides would have been meaningless but for the general excitement which he aroused. As the great revolutionary of tragedy, the master of theatrical effects and of psychological insight, he was the natural centre of interest and target for criticism. If Sophokles, as the ideal representative of State and people, was the most beloved poet, Euripides was the most admired and the most discussed. He himself does not hesitate to express criticism of his literary predecessors by occasional allusions probably clear to most of the audience.³ Among comic writers it was indeed as usual to deride him as to throw nuts to the spectators or to rob Herakles of his meal.⁴ The poets felt that in him, in 'his phrases savouring of the law-courts',⁵ there prevailed the elements of rationalism and rhetoric. Sometimes Sokrates was held responsible for this, for he was said to have made for him 'those garrulous and clever tragedies'.⁶ Euripides was admired by some of the people because of his remarkable and original sayings and the

¹ Strattis 1.

² ὅλος καὶ μὴ λάλος, adesp. 12 (a) D = 45 (b) P. The last words are translated by Mr. Page — not literally, of course, but most wittily 'add a pinch — don't pad an inch'. Page assumes that the reference to Euripides is uncomplimentary, but in that case the advice to take ὅλον Εὐριπίδην seems surprising. Webster, agreeing with Page, thinks that this is a recipe for one of Euripides' inferior rivals.

³ Cf. *Hik* 846, *El* 520ff, *Phoen* 751.

⁴ W. 58ff.

⁵ P. 534. I believe this translation of ῥημάτων δικονικῶν (Liddell and Scott, s. δικονικός II, 2) is much more suitable here than merely 'law terms' (Liddell and Scott, II, 1).

⁶ frg. 376, cf. F 1491ff, Telekl. 39-40, Kallias 12. Otherwise Kephisophon, who lived under Euripides' roof, was thought to be his collaborator (F 944, 1407ff, 1452f, frg. 580), though this was little more than a cheap attempt at reducing Euripides' stature. Actually he himself once mentions the idea of literary collaboration in order to show the disadvantages of dual rule as contrasted with monarchy (*Andr* 471ff).

way in which 'his fine expressions were polished up';¹ it is clear that the 'over-subtle spectator' who 'hunts after sententious phrases' and 'euripid-aristophanizes', was by no means rare.² This last phrase, which perhaps belongs to the *Pytine* of 423 and reveals the mind of the older generation, is especially interesting because it includes Aristophanes no less than Euripides in the new generation and new spirit.³ Both are considered, and rightly so, to be pre-eminently responsible for having made the people acquainted with the new ideas and new maxims. The people's interest and the sophists' influence met and augmented each other; a considerable body of evidence, including the attacks on competitors mentioned previously, suggests that nobody but the Athenians could judge 'the poets' natures'.⁴ It is only a slight exaggeration and modernization (in the use of the word 'science') to say, as has recently been said: 'Literary criticism has become a science and evidently a popular one'.⁵ As in any other new branch of investigation the experts probably used technical terms of which the comedians naturally made fun. If the audience did not understand the particular meaning of every expression, they knew enough to find it a good joke when, for instance, a poet was called 'productive', or 'to babble' became a serious expression indicating sophisticated talk.⁶

In estimating this side of the Athenian character, we must never forget that the *Frogs*, a conspicuous example of a contest about literary questions, was performed in the last year of the

¹ F 96ff — frg 33 (a) D = 42 (a) P. The meaning of the verb [ἐξεσ]μήχετο is uncertain. It would be easy to quote hundreds of gnomic lines from Euripides, and that is exactly what Stobaios, for instance, did.

² Kratinos 307

³ Cf A C Pearson, *Εὐριπίδου ἀριστοφανίζειν* (1925). There is much more in this expression than only dependence of Aristophanes' language on that of Euripides (as Schmid, 71, 18, thinks)

⁴ F.809f, cf above, p 34f

⁵ T B L Webster, *Greek Art and Literature*, 171, cf already J D Denniston, *Cl Q* XXI (1927), 113ff. It is hardly a counter-argument to say that the interests of Philokleon's as well as Bdelykleon's companions do not include literature, but are confined to indecent stories and popular fables on the one hand, to talk about politics and sport on the other. The fun is obvious in both cases. Apart from that — what would be the result of an investigation made today, whether in a pub or at a so-called society party?

⁶ F 98 — F 91, 839, 954, frg 376. Denniston, *l.c.*, has collected a number of such terms, mainly from the *Clouds* and the *Frogs*

great war, at a time of the greatest distress and hardship. But neither must we forget that the real object of the literary competition, and therefore the innermost meaning of the whole play, was to find in the greatest of the tragedians not only the better poet, but also the teacher of the people and the saviour of the State.

Like the beauty of the Acropolis, so the people's love for the theatre, expressed in, and kept alive by, the institution of the *theorikon*, is symptomatic of the spirit which is more characteristic than anything else of all we connect with the name of Athens. The unity between poet and audience, of which we have spoken in the first chapter, would have been impossible unless the audience in general was able to understand the poet's intentions, his literary allusions and parodies. The chorus can even address the audience as those who are experienced themselves in every kind of poetry.¹ In trying to ascertain the general level of education among the Athenians we may quote the famous and tragic saying about one of the soldiers of the Sicilian disaster: 'He is either dead or teaching letters.'² Those men who escaped and are here characterized were only a minority, but a fortuitous one and therefore typical of the whole people.³ Perhaps the 'letters' mean in this case more than only elementary instruction, for it was chiefly by singing the songs of Euripides, famous and popular in Syracuse also, that some of the Athenians saved themselves.⁴ The high educational standard of the Athenian people cannot be doubted,⁵ and illiterate persons, 'analphabetes' — a word apparently coined by comedy — were rare.⁶ When in Euripides' *Theseus* a shepherd who cannot read describes the shape of the six letters of the king's name, the audience is

¹ K 505f

² adesp. 20.

³ Cf Diod. XIII, 33, 1

⁴ γράμμασιν, cf Xen. *mem.* IV, 2, 8ff — Plut. *Nik.* 29, 2f.

⁵ But it seems to be a modern habit to do so, cf., e.g., Michell, 363. A generally sound approach can be found in A. Roemer, *Ueber den literarisch-historischen Bildungsstand des athen Theaterpublikums* (*Abhandl. Bayr. Akad., phil.-philol. Kl.* XXII, 1905), 1ff

⁶ Nikoch. 2 D, Philyl. 2; 1 D. Cf Korte, *P.-W.* XVII, 346. It is, however, not certain whether the word used by Philyllos is ἀνογράβητον or ἀνόγραφτον. Against Hasebroek's view that many of the Athenians were illiterate, and that therefore most business was done without written statements, cf. G. Pasquali, *Studi Italiani di Filol. Class.* VII (1929), 243ff.

naturally supposed to be able to follow. The citizens recorded their notes in court on a wax-tablet, perhaps sometimes with their fingers, so that they bring the wax home under their finger-nails.² Even the sausage-seller, that pattern of the uneducated, knows, of all the arts of the Muses, at least some writing and reading, though even at these he is bad enough.³ One man asks to have all the writing in a book interpreted; perhaps he cannot read.⁴ Another who in fact cannot read or write knows the laws by heart, presumably those of Solon.⁵

The obscure phrase about the spectators 'who all have a book, to learn what is clever' gives proof at least of some general intellectual standard,⁶ though the various compliments addressed by comedians to their audience do not mean much, and this one more likely than not is ironical. On the other hand, Aristophanes is no friend to people concerned with books. In the *Birds* the oracle-monger, the inspector, the decree-seller, all carry books about.⁷ Euripides is notorious rather than famous for owning many books.⁸ A book can corrupt a man just as much as a sophist or an idle prattler.⁹ It seems that the word *biblion* covers very different kinds of publications, real literature as well as collections of oracles or laws or, on the other hand, political pamphlets and posters.¹⁰ Aristophanes disliked books because he was hostile to all 'intellectualism', however much he himself was under its sway. His hostility only confirms that books played an important part in Athenian life. Book-trade was on a fairly large scale, a special part of the market was reserved for it, and we hear of booksellers, in particular of a man appearing with a cart full of books.¹¹

Along with criticism of literature went that of music, as we have already seen from the beginning of the *Acharnians*.¹² It is hardly necessary to stress the inseparable connection be-

¹ *frg* 382² W 108, cf. 850³ K 188f, cf. W 959f⁴ Philvll 11⁵ Kratinos 122⁶ F.1114⁷ B 974ff, 1024, 1036⁸ F 943, 1409, cf. Athenaeus I, 4 (3a)⁹ *frg* 490¹⁰ The last is the most likely explanation of B 1288

¹¹ Eupolis 304 — Aristom 9, Theop 77, also Nikophon 19 — adesp. 497
Cf also Xen *anab.* VII, 5, 14 — Gilbert Murray, *Greek Studies*, 22ff, gives a lively picture of the pre-literary state of affairs in Athens. He dates the decisive change from oral publication to that of books between Herodotos and Thucydides, which is surprisingly late

¹² A 4ff

tween all Greek poetry and music. Comedy, like any poetry, could be called simply the 'art of the Muses', or referred to by a word which meant both comic and musical.¹ In the fourth century the part of the chorus, the chief vehicle of music and singing in tragedy and comedy, was very much shorter, though its musical importance outlived its poetical. With Euripides solo singing became more usual, but some of the public were apparently bored by this kind of singing, and 'to sing' could become an expression meaning idle talk.² The *agon* between Aischylos and Euripides, besides being a competition in wisdom and shrewdness, includes both literary and musical art.³ Our sources are not sufficient to make a full understanding of Greek music possible, and the present writer, at any rate, is here out of his depth; but we can perceive a strong sensibility to, and love for, music among the Athenians, and a certain interest in questions of musical aesthetics no less than in the practical knowledge of lyre and flute.⁴ Only a man who had to flee for his life was excused for 'not waiting to listen to the sound of the lyre', and a musical man would object to somebody who was 'in conflict with the melody'.⁵ Music was, as it had always been, a chief instrument in 'educating the uneducated'.⁶ 'May I never live with people without music', sings the chorus of Euripides' *Herakles*, 'may I always be among wreaths', that is to say, among men singing and wearing garlands.⁷ Men sang on their way to work, to court, to town, and work itself was frequently accompanied by a song or some other sort of music (cf. Plate XI*b*, a perfect, though primitive, illustration of 'Music while you Work').⁸ Listening to a bad singer is worse than wearing a wreath of nettles, and a flute-player Chairis was notorious for his bad playing.⁹ As in poetry, it was possible to distinguish earlier and later stages in the manner of singing, and Lampros, the

¹ μουσική, Eupolis 336, 357, 8 — τραγωδοποιουμουσική, frg 333 W B Stanford, *Hermathena* LXI, 18, speaks of 'that happy blending of literature and music'

² F 1329ff. — E 887ff. — frg 7 D, Eupolis 2 D

⁴ Cf F 1261ff

³ W 269f, 271f. — K 9, Phryn 2, 6.

⁵ frg. 11 D — Eupolis 6 D

⁶ Eur. *Kykl* 492

⁷ Eur *Her* 676f

⁸ W. 219f, E 277f, Telekl. 7 — F. 203ff, 1296f, Phryn 14, Plat 211, Nikoph. 17.

⁹ Pherekr 24. — A 16, 866, P 951f, B. 858, Pherekr 6

well-known music-teacher of Sophokles, could be derided, because of his music, as a weak and whining 'super-sophist'.¹ It was the same with dancing. The spectators might be critical or they might enjoy a dance.² Frequently, as we have seen before, the tragic poet was criticized as the man responsible also for the dances of the chorus.³

It may be regarded as another sign of their musical sense that the Athenians were extremely sensitive to the use of language and to foreign accents. A highly developed instinct for language was innate with them. Without language, which means, of course, the Greek language, a man was a barbarian; so was Kleophon as a man 'who talks in two languages'.⁴ We must not take into account mere playing with words or jokes based on omitted consonants,⁵ but it is only natural when a non-Greek is derided for making comic mistakes in the use of Greek words.⁶ Even the Ionian and Boeotian dialects and their usages are laughed at.⁷ Solon had once complained that those Athenians who had been expelled to foreign countries had lost their Attic speech or accent.⁸ Now the chief reproach to foreigners recently admitted as citizens was that they spoke very bad Attic.⁹

The Athenians' sense of language showed in other ways, too. We have discussed in a previous chapter the fact that they were conscious of the difference between the town and country dialects.¹⁰ This difference was caused by a difference in social and educational standards, and increased by the teaching of the sophists. We have spoken of the illiterate man who knew the laws by heart, in Aristophanes' *Dattales* the son who has had an entirely modern education has forgotten the difficult Homeric words, but is well acquainted with the technical and even obsolete legal expressions which could be learned by speaking in court.¹¹ This indicates that 'linguistic' interest, following the general trend from poetry to rhetoric, had turned from literature to the study of law. Besides, the modern young man knew any number of new-fangled and affected words,

¹ Eupolis 303, Pherekr. 145 — Phryn 69

² Plat. 130. — W 1524ff.

³ B 199f — F 679f

⁴ Th 1001ff, frg. 79, Plat. 60.

⁵ Solon, frg. 24, 12f, Diehl

¹⁰ pp. 86ff

⁶ W. 1497ff, P. 781ff See p. 24

⁷ adesp 393

⁸ P 933, Strattis 47

⁹ Eupolis 40 P, 23, Plat 31, 168.

¹¹ frg. 222 Cf Isokr IV, 159 — Lysias X, 16ff.

such as were used by the orators, the sophists and the politicians of the day.¹ These were words which only 'drove by car', being too big to be carried, a kind of refined and artificial speech that could be likened to the most elaborate works of sculpture.² Among the up-to-date upper classes 'solemn speeches' were liked, and the usual 'welcome' was replaced as a form of greeting by an affected 'I greet you', while on the other hand Kleon was criticized because he introduced the private form 'welcome' into an official letter.³ Elegance and artificiality of speech and style, however, do not preclude vulgar ideas, in proof of which Euripides is cited, who elsewhere is said to be able to use those 'refined' and 'urban' phrases which Dionysos expects that both of the competing poets will use.⁴ Dikaiopolis, when he is dressed up in the rags of the Euripidean Telephos, is glad and proud to be 'filled with pet phrases'.⁵ All these allusions show the importance attached to language and style.

We have passed from literary to linguistic subjects, that is to a matter in which the sophists were most keenly interested. *Glotta*, 'Language', appears in the *Clouds* among the gods of Sokrates.⁶ Language was apparently the bridge which enabled the average citizen to approach, in some degree, the intellectual sphere of the sophists. Even a coarse fellow like Herakles learns the importance of speech.⁷ The art and study of speech dominated the educational work of the sophists, as their aims were chiefly those of political education. We shall deal in a later chapter with the part the orators played in political life.⁸ Here it may suffice to point to the almost innumerable passages in Euripides, in which the poet either theoretically or by practical application shows the impact of rhetoric on his poetry as well as on his views. They also bear strong witness to the general interest in rhetoric. As early as the end of the 'nineties Isokrates could stress the fact that a

¹ fig. 198.

² Kantharos 1 D, Polyzelos 1 D, adesp 836 — fig. 699.

³ W. 1174ff — χρίρειν replaced by ἀσπάζομαι, Pl 322ff, cf. C 1145, B. 1377, Pl 1042 — Eupolis 308.

⁴ K 1375ff — fig. 471 — F 900ff, 905f.

⁵ A. 444, 447. This is how Liddell and Scott translate ῥημάτων. The reference seems clearly to some quotations from *Telephos*, and they would be another thin disguise of Dikaiopolis.

⁶ C 424.

⁷ Plat. 51-53

⁸ See Chapter XIII, 2.

number of works on rhetoric had been published.¹ The whole rhetorical theory of the sophists, who based education on the individual's natural talents, seems summarized in the sentence: 'Nature teaches a man to speak, art to speak well.'²

The public, in spite of its general interest, had only vague and often wrong ideas on this subject, and might confuse it with quite different matters. That, however, does not apply only to language and rhetoric, but to most of the activities of those sophists whose character is disclosed when they solemnly bring out from the depth of their minds some learned stuff, often only a triviality.³ The people considered them idlers, and liked to include, under the name of sophists, not only teachers and thinkers, but also soothsayers, physicians, astronomers and their like.⁴ Clerks and altar-beggars are said to be typical of the Athens of the time, a remark which reveals both the spread of intellectual education and the progress of social degradation.⁵ Many of these men were parasites who got all they could from State and cult. But they were also 'sophists', because they made a bargain with wisdom and teaching, because they lived on their brains. For 'reason is like Prometheus to mankind', says the comedian Platon, with ironical admiration, in a play which is called *The Sophists*.⁶

The comic poets, in fact, attacked two groups: on the one hand, the *uneducated* men of low origin, the upstarts who became demagogues; on the other, the *miseducated* ones, the young men, spoiled by modern education, who considered themselves wise and clever.⁷ Hyperbolos, who took lessons in rhetoric, was infected by both evils, that of being uneducated as well as that of being miseducated.⁸ A man, on the other hand, who was both 'wise' and 'inspired by the Muses', if he really deserved this characterization, was the type which old-fashioned education tried to shape.⁹ Once it had been the natural consequence of being a citizen to be taught by the community life of the Polis. Simonides' famous sentence 'The

¹ Isokr. XIII, 19.

² adesp. 403.

³ frg. 49 D.

⁴ C. 316, 331 ff.

⁵ F 1083 ff. An example of this is Nikomachos, mentioned in F. 1506, whose career is disclosed by Lysias XXX: son of a slave, clerk (ὑπουργοματεύς), member of the commission for law-reform, etc.

⁶ Plat. 136

⁷ K 188 ff, 217 ff, Eupolis 193. — P 44.

⁸ C 874 ff

W 1244 — C 961.

Polis educates man' is reflected in the question of the Cyclops. 'What Polis educated you?'¹ The old unsystematic, but sound, training² which aimed at moral discipline and musical education, fought two enemies: rationalistic education which largely neglected the moral point of view, and lack of education. In every case, however, education had become a goal consciously aimed at, and it had therefore to be systematic and deliberate. To many people in very different ways of life, wisdom and cleverness (*sophia*), such as taught by the sophists, became an ideal. Euripides, even more than the comedians, shows how the word *sophos* 'was constantly upon the lips of the intelligent Athenians'.³ Though a rude man might still be called rustic or boorish, he was certainly 'uneducated'.⁴ That means that the new distinction between the educated and the uneducated, between the 'wise' and the 'unlearned',⁵ opened a new social gap, which was to influence the conditions of general life to an ever-increasing extent.

The Old Education is represented by the 'Just Logos', and the argument between him and the 'Unjust Logos' reflects most vividly the great social and intellectual struggle which was going on at the time.⁶ It is perhaps surprising that the weaknesses of the old education, its narrow-mindedness and prudishness, are not concealed; but only the old education, as the natural product of the Polis, was based on demands of universal importance. physical and mental training, modesty and decency, good manners and good reputation. 'It is an education for the body and the character, the education of aristocratic youth.'⁷ It was also the education which had given to Athens the victory of Marathon.⁸ The Athenians could speak of the palaestra as Wellington did of the playing-fields of Eton.⁹

¹ Simonides 53 Diehl. — Eur. *Kykl* 276

² τὸ σωφρόνως τροφῆναι, K 334

³ Winnington-Ingram, *Euripides and Dionysus*, 167f

⁴ Cf. Nikoch. 3, Eur. *Kykl* 492. Thus Ion dislikes the ἀμύσοι ξένοι (Eur. *Ion* 526), and ἀμύσοις is described as the first sign of stupidity (Eur. *frag* 1033). The constant hints in Euripides to the σοφοί and to the implications of wisdom and ignorance, also to the hostility of ordinary people to the σοφοί, need no particular quotation

⁵ Cf., e.g., W 1183, 1196

⁶ C 889ff.

⁷ Webster, *op. cit.*, 99

⁸ C 986

⁹ Cf. W. M. Hugill, *The Phoenix* III (1949), 31ff

Although it was partly responsible for those moral effects, it resulted at the same time in the free development of the personality. It is not difficult to see even in the praise of the old education that it had become essential to find new methods and subjects, other than the traditional ones of poetry and music, and that undue attention was paid to sports and games. What the poet calls effeminacy and 'politicizing' and alike, means also the enthusiasm for inquiry and knowledge, the liberation of the intellect and the refinement of the spirit. Aristophanes himself belonged to the generation which had been brought up under the first impact of the sophists' teaching. He realized some of the shortcomings of the old methods, but he did not realize that they actually belonged to the past, and he maintained that their weaknesses were negligible, compared with the excesses and the blunders of the modern spirit. Not quite consistently with his general attitude, he also attacked the education described as that given by Sokrates, which included training to endure cold and hunger, though it denounced the palaestra together with other erotic 'nonsense'.¹ Be this as it may (and we must allow the comic poet some liberties), one fact stands out — the change by which the individual mind became the determining factor, both for good and for ill. Euripides even more than Sokrates was regarded by the comedians as the great protagonist of the new spirit. It may be taken as a symbol of his art as well as of his lasting influence that he introduced into literature, and therefore also into myth, erotic psychology and even suicide because of rejected love.² Subjectivism and individualism were a danger; they might lead to romantic self-destruction as well as to the destruction of State and society. At the same time they led the way to new heights of art, literature, science, and, above all, philosophy.

The speeches of the Just and the Unjust Logos show that the influence of the new spirit prevailed not only in small circles. The new education, though it demanded an elaborate training and involved longer and more expensive instruction, was not an esoteric movement. We have emphasized this

¹ C.414ff. This is not the same as the fairly frequent denunciation of the ἀθλητῶν γένος, known as early as Xenophanes (frg. 2) and violently expressed, e.g., in one of Euripides' satyr dramas (frg. 282)

² Cf. F.1043ff, 1050f.

already. All the young men whose education would have been limited to palaestra and gymnasium, were stimulated and influenced by these ever-spreading new doctrines. The pleasure taken in discussing a matter, even an arbitrary denunciation of a fellow citizen, from both points of view, was widespread and could even be called a philosophical attitude.¹ It is significant, that, at this time, virtually all departments of life were subjected to theoretical treatment. Books were published about the State, about farming, household management, the various arts and crafts and many other subjects. The mathematician wrote about town-planning,² as we know Hippodamos had done, who flourished about the middle of the fifth century. *Techne*, the common word for art or craft, began also to mean a set of rules, a system, a manual.³ The authors of many of these treatises argued fiercely against each other.⁴ The whole development of intellectual life was given a particular colour by the fact that it concerned a large number of the people, and that the whole population was vitally interested in it. Thus, the sophists truly revolutionized education.⁵

Education, however, was and remained fundamentally political, and the sophists never lost sight of the purpose of a training whose object was to prepare its pupils for political life. This is one reason why, when all is said and done, the working classes were touched rather than altered by the new teaching. The same can be said of the women.⁶ Euripides even depicts Iphigeneia as unable to write, while the chorus of the *Medea* tries to make allowances for some women clever enough to use subtle speech and to deal with important questions.⁷ It is obvious that a few women were really educated, but that this was still rare and exceptional. We must recognize the limits set to education even in the changing society of the fourth century, but the decisive factor was that the new ideas were spread, especially as political individualism and opportunism went hand in hand with the general growth of economic factors and economic materialism on the one hand, and with the growing extension of a new class of educated people on

¹ Lysias VIII, 11

² B 1004ff.

³ Cf Neil on K 63

⁴ adesp 345.

⁵ Cf also H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, 84ff, 96f

⁶ See above, pp 201ff, 207

⁷ Eur. *Iph. T.* 584 — *Med* 1081ff.

the other. All this, however, depended on the general interest of the *petits bourgeois* who filled the seats in the theatre, who were fascinated by literature, language and other intellectual matters, who listened to the new ideas. This class, which formed the bulk of the people, nevertheless firmly rejected the modern doctrines, and more especially the attacks on the old religion. It is a great exaggeration, but again one that proves the interest of the people, when the Just Logos regards almost the whole audience as belonging to those men 'without brains' who follow the new false doctrines.¹

All our evidence points to the strong intellectual liveliness of the Athenian people. It is only natural that the standards varied and that 'modern' interests were intermingled with many trends of traditional thought. But the general level of education was steadily rising. There is no better proof of this than the changing aspect of comedy itself. The coarseness and obscenity both of language and of acting gradually disappeared in a general process of growing refinement, though also of diminishing vigour and originality. A large part of the audience had their full share of literary interests and aesthetic understanding, but others must have turned to cruder entertainments. The intellectual change, however, was a social change as well, and while comedy lost much of its particular appeal to the Athenian people as a whole, it gained universal appeal to the educated *bourgeoisie* — Athenian as well as non-Athenian — of the Hellenistic Age.

¹ C.896ff, 916ff.

CHAPTER XI

WAR AND PEACE

THE period of Old Comedy coincides with a period of Athenian history the variety of which seems more obvious than its unity.¹ We realize that there was a unity, and that it was brought about by the fact that the leading actors of the drama were Athens and her empire, with Sparta and Corinth taking important but secondary parts. Seen, however, under the aspects of peace and war, our period has no unity at all, but can be divided into two periods, 460-432 and 431-c. 380. Either of these periods can easily be sub-divided into two parts: 460-446 were years of dangerous tension and some fighting, 445-432 was essentially a time of real peace; again 431-404 was a time of war, 403-380 were years of a very unstable peace. Kratinos and Krates lived in the earlier period, but they lived on to see the first years of the Peloponnesian War.² All the other important poets of Old Comedy belong to the second period. It is impossible to understand thoroughly either the social conditions of the age or their reflection in comedy without taking these facts into account. For war and peace do not form the background, against which the facts of normal everyday life stand out — they themselves shape these facts and all the consequent details. Our evidence, however, hardly enables us to describe fully such things as the difference between the economic life of war and of peace, though some details can be recovered, and we have referred to these in earlier chapters. We must, however, try to discover the effects of war and peace on social psychology, and so complete in its essentials our picture of Athenian society.

Perhaps nowhere in our investigation do we meet with such great difficulties as here, for nothing appears more distorted in comedy than the essential features of the war. There was, so it seems, only one possible way for comedy to deal with

¹ See above, pp. 15ff.

² Cf. A. Körte, *P-W* XI, 1623f, 1647f. For Kratinos cf. especially Norwood, 114ff.

war, and that was to treat it as something unreal. When the comic poet was pleading for peace, he could not do justice to the achievements and exploits of the war; and since comedy was comedy, it could not deal with the horrors. Nevertheless, we may be able to find some facts behind the silence and distortion.

One of the outstanding features of comedy is that the comedians, in order to decry their own generation, recall the soldierly traditions of the greatest period of the past, the time of the Persian Wars. This epoch is usually treated as if it were contemporary. After sixty, seventy, eighty years have gone by, veterans of Marathon are still brought on the stage, with a happy disregard of chronology.¹ Various events of the past are confused: in the general pictures of the *Marathonomachai* are included the naval war of 480 and some events of about 470,² the famous runner of the time of the Persian War, Phayllos of Kroton,³ and the politician Thoukydides who was active in the 'fifties and 'forties of the century, or even, on the other hand, events of the last decades of the sixth century.⁴ The old men of the chorus in the *Wasps* boast of having fought in the battle for Attica; they tell of the sky darkened by the enemies' arrows, a story that is well known from Herodotos, where the reference, however, is to Thermopylae.⁵ Furthermore, the old men in the *Lysistrata*, that is in 411, are proud of their part in the expulsion of the Spartan king Kleomenes from the Acropolis in the year 508, and even of their part in the battle of Leipsydion which took place in 513.⁶ The idea of war was closely associated with the memory of the past, in particular of the Persian War, and sleep which overcame a man could therefore be said 'to have attacked him like a Mede'.⁷

For the purpose of our investigation it matters less why and how Aristophanes used those ancient warriors in his comedies than to state the very fact of their poetical existence, which

¹ A 179ff, 692ff, K 1334, C 985f, W 711, 1060ff, frg 413, Hermipp. 81

² A.677 — W 236, 355.

³ A 214f, W 1206. I do not think we should assume that there were two runners of the same name, the man of Kroton of 480 who did not win at Olympia (Paus. X, 9, 2), and a later Olympionikes. Rightly: A. Raubitschek, *P - W*. XIX, 1903.

⁴ A.703 — L 616ff, 630ff, 664ff. In general, cf my *Ost und West*, 97f

⁵ W 1076ff — Herod VII, 226, 1

⁶ L 272ff, 665

⁷ W 11f, cf also 1124

was nowhere displayed more manifestly than in the chorus of the *Acharnians*. This shows that the chorus is entirely lacking in real 'personality'. The men of the chorus are not men in the usual meaning of the word, they represent the community to which they belong, State or deme or whatever it may be, in its contemporary but also in its historical existence: they embody both present and past. To exalt the heroic and military type of Athenian citizen it was necessary to go back almost a century.

Was this because in a period of war the poets wished to compare their own time with another period of war, and therefore neglected the long, comparatively peaceful period between the two great wars? There may be some truth in such an assumption; it would at least be psychologically understandable.¹ However, there was no lasting peace between 478 and 431. The fifteen years of Perikles' rule (446-432) were peaceful indeed, an age famous for its buildings and not for its battles; but even these years were interrupted by the Samian War and ended with the troubles about Kerkyra and Potidaia. One reason why the land battles of the middle of the century were not taken as examples of military achievements and war-like spirit may have been that they were waged between Greeks and Greeks. Occasionally, however, we find them mentioned, and they are represented by the valiant Myronides,² while the naval battles against Persia of the same period such as Eurymedon and Cyprus are never alluded to. The reason for that is clear. Even of the Persian War it is Marathon, and not Salamis, that is glorified. The comic poets were concerned with the old prowess of Athenian hoplites rather than with previous naval successes. The great importance of the fleet in their own time was, as we shall see, reflected by the comedians, but as their comic world was based on an essentially conservative and even romantic outlook, the citizen-soldiers of Marathon became their true ideal, as the product of ancient valour and education.³

The 'Marathon-fighters', though in comedy they usually appear faintly ridiculous, are in idea similar to our conception

¹ I adopted this view in the first edition to the exclusion of what I now believe is a better explanation.

² C 213 — L 801ff, E 303ff, Eupolis 98, 40 P, 51f.

³ See above p. 292.

of the 'veterans of the trenches', that type of ex-serviceman which twenty years after the First World War was still present to everybody's mind, and even played a rôle in international relations. (Since the Second World War he has been superseded by whole peoples, as it were, fighting in the front line.) This type of Athenian was an 'active-service-seeker', not a 'full-pay-seeker'; he despised the professional officer, being himself both a good citizen and soldier, *polites* and *hoplites* (see Plate XIX*a*).¹ He did not belong to the 'knights' who were the privileged noble youth,² but quite negligible as cavalry in the field, nor to the 'light troops', who as late as 410 did not enjoy a very high reputation, though a few citizens might serve in their ranks.³ Later on, these light troops came to be regarded very differently, but originally only the heavy-armed hoplite was the true citizen-soldier. The important part which ex-servicemen played in the public mind is brought out by the fact that the phrase 'old campaigners' could be used of those competent to judge the events of a 'war', even if it was one between poets.⁴ The pride of the Attic hoplite was his free discipline, which distinguished him equally from the thetes, the poor who could not afford arms of their own and for a long time did not serve at all, from the 'conscript' soldiers of Sparta and from the unsoldierly Ionians who are said to take their wives and babies, and therefore also a bath-tub, with them to camp.⁵ The State honoured those of the citizen-soldiers who had been killed in action, not only by a public funeral and eulogy, but also by educating their sons at public expense and equipping them with full arms.⁶

The importance of the hoplites, however, decreased in the decades after the defeat of the Persians. Then the supreme qualification was 'who rowed best'.⁷ In fact, every Athenian knew how to row and to sail.⁸ Expressions indicating unskilful rowing were used for general ineptitude, 'sea-warfare' could mean any kind of struggle, even one of words only, and the

¹ A 595ff

² See p. 95

³ Th. 232 — For light-armed citizens cf. the τοξόται, IG I², 44; II², 1951

⁴ οἱ ἐστρατεύμενοι, F. 1113; cf. 1090ff I do not think that Radermacher's explanation of F. 1113 (*der in der Welt herumgekommen ist*) is convincing

⁵ frg. 232. — Eupolis 256

⁶ B 395ff. — Kratinos 171, B 1361; cf. Thuc. II, 46, 1, Lysias, frg. 6, 30ff, Aischines III, 154.

⁷ W 1097f

⁸ Ps.-Xen. I, 19f.

boatman's cry 'o-op' also came to have a more general application.¹ The Athenians' attachment to the sea is well known. Athens now owed her political position and widespread power neither to her hoplites nor, on the other hand, to her trade and merchant fleet, but to the navy which had command of the sea and was under Athena's special protection.² It is clear that in Periclean and post-Periclean Athens, 'from which the beautiful triremes came' (see Plate XIXb),³ the navy claimed for itself military valour and virtue. The crews of the warships, 'the rhuppapai' as they were called from the rhythmic cry of the oarsmen, worked hard, and the rhythm and energy of their rowing were greatly enhanced by this shouting and by music, just as the greenhorn Dionysos rowed to the rhythm of the songs of the frogs.⁴ 'The rowers who guard the State' played a prominent part in politics, and as a social group were obviously rising to power. Hence come the attacks on democracy by Pseudo-Xenophon who, with his peculiar mixture of sarcasm and admiration, admits that the whole company of 'helmsmen, boatswains, captains, mates and ship-builders' gave the State more power than the rich and the nobles.⁵ This is the democracy which Aristotle later described as of the 'trireme kind'.⁶ The effects were reciprocal: democracy built the navy, and the navy supported democracy. The demand for the repatriation of exiled citizens, mainly, of course, the oligarchic enemies of the existing democracy, was based on two grounds. one, that even the slaves, who had fought in the battle of Arginusae, had received citizenship, the other that the exiled men and their ancestors had often fought in naval actions.⁷ Even noblemen, although either they or their ancestors had most probably fought as knights, now boasted of their naval activities, after all, Kimon had given the most outstanding example. Thus the appreciation of military virtue was turned in another direction, and this confirms the general social transformation.

A well-known and typical character in New Comedy is the

¹ K 830. — W 478 — B 1395, cf F 180, 208

² See p 118

³ K 1186

⁴ B 108

⁵ W 909, F 1073, cf K 602 — F 203ff

⁶ A 162f

⁷ Ps.-Xen I, 2

⁸ τριηρικὸν εἶδος, Aristotle, *pol* 1291b, 23, cf 1304a, 20ff

⁹ F 33, 693f — F 697ff, cf Lysias XXV, 12

boastful soldier who is serving as a mercenary; in Old Comedy we find the citizen soldier, whether officer (for instance, Lamachos) or private soldier, in the same rôle of the *miles gloriosus*. The type (see Plate IIIc) is not simply an invention of comedy, for it existed frequently enough in fact. There have always been swashbuckling soldiers, 'taking more pride in their spears than in their brains', bragging of their glorious deeds like the cowardly Dionysos.¹ We know, too, that when Athens was, so to speak, in the front line, it annoyed people to see men in full armour striding about the market-place.² Such types, or at any rate their more frequent occurrence, was a necessary result of circumstances, but to some extent also of the decay of the soldierly and heroic spirit of ancient Athens. Euripides speaks of the licentiousness and the malicious gossip of army and navy.³ The *Marathonomaches*, the warrior-type, was an ideal from the past, and this ideal had lost its power; the warrior was no longer either an important or even a conspicuous figure. One of the most significant features is the almost complete disappearance of the desire for fame and glory (*kleos*), which had been perhaps the most important aim in Greek life and literature from Homer to Sophokles; except for a word of Aischylos in the *Frogs* who refers indirectly to Homer (and this is a very significant exception), we find in comedy only the ridiculous and unheroic 'sky-high fame' of the skilled sophist and orator, and the comic glory of the poet which impressed even the Persian King.⁴ This use of the word 'glory', or even its meaning of 'bad reputation', may easily be ascribed to the unheroic nature of comedy; it seems that in comedy the word occurs only in epic parodies.⁵ No doubt, word and idea lived on in the epic and tragic traditions, and also as a quality of the State to which the citizens might contribute.⁶ It was, however, different as far as the individual human being was concerned. There was another word (*doxa*), but it had a much more civic and even

¹ Eur *Tro* 1158 — F 48ff

² L 555ff

³ Eur *Hek* 606ff, *Iph A.* 1000ff. We may mention here also the speech (54) in which Demosthenes (c. 340 B.C.) describes the deplorable behaviour of soldiers on garrison duty in Attica.

⁴ F.1034f — C.459 — A.646

⁵ frg. 796 (from Photius κλέος, τὴν φαύλην δόξαν Ἀριστοφάνης) — Cf Starkie, in his edition of the *Acharnians*, on v. 646

⁶ e.g., Thuc. I, 25, 4, II, 64, 3, *IG* I², 943 (Tod, 48), 95, 945 (Tod, 59), 13.

soldiers, there was a definite name in use for the 'men who did not serve', reflecting actual facts and tendencies of the time.¹ Eupolis, the most virile of the comedians, wrote a play, *Astrateutoi*, in which he described the shirkers as androgynous.² The so-called 'conscript knights' also very likely belonged to this class, chiefly because they wanted to avoid the expenses of joining up; others would take the money for their equipment as horsemen without being capable of riding, others regarded ceremonial actions such as to ride in the Panathenaic procession as their first duty.³ In brief, there were many who were 'excellent except in the field'.⁴

Even the State did not always pay regularly the money due after the campaign.⁵ That is probably the reason why the triremes which please Poseidon are called *misthophoroi*, that is 'carrying [men who have received] their pay'; the god would not be pleased if as so often the payments were in arrear.⁶ At a later period of the war mercenaries had to be dismissed because of lack of funds,⁷ certainly not all the available money was spent on war purposes.

Some of the passages mentioned are more or less commonplace, due to human and all-too-human nature. Others are undoubtedly flavoured by the poet's personal attitude. In spite of such utterances we must not forget that Athens in the last ten years of the Peloponnesian War won some of her most remarkable military successes. Many citizens were on active service and did not see their homes for several months on end.⁸ There is, however, more behind that abundance of evidence. The last scene of the *Acharnians* shows not only how unfairly the professional soldier Lamachos could be ridiculed as a militaristic type, but also how the whole military outlook, everything virile and active, could be satirized in the same way.⁹ Is this to be set down only to comic licence and the pleading for peace and peaceful prosperity? At the end of the

¹ ἀστράτευτοι, W 1117f, cf P 526f

² Eupolis 31ff, 3 D

³ ἀνόγχιπποι, Eupolis 394, 16 D — Eupolis 268 — Xen *hipparch* 2, 1.

⁴ adesp 451

⁵ K 1366f

⁶ K 555 The explanation given in the text is that of G Bjork, *Eranos* XXXVIII (1940), 31ff. It seems better to agree with the real meaning of μισθοφόρος than the explanation that the fleet was 'earning money' by getting the tribute to Athens.

⁷ Thuc VII, 29, 1

⁸ L 102ff, Th 1168f

⁹ A 1069ff, cf also 593ff

play Lamachos returns from the campaign, wounded by a ridiculous accident, while Dikaiopolis returns triumphantly from dinner.¹ One cannot help feeling that the comic poet has here (as in the last scene of the *Clouds*) outwitted his own wit and fallen into an outrageous form of caricature. But since he did so, the audience probably made an adequate response. 'There is a jingoism of peace as well as a jingoism of war.'² We are hardly surprised to find that in the very year after Arginusae the word for 'sea-warfare' could be used to indicate sexual intercourse.³

There is an unsolved discrepancy in Aristophanes' attitude. At one and the same time he deplores the decline of soldierly virtues and fights the war-mongers. The bellicose spirit of an idealized past finds high praise, but in the poet's own time it is regarded as reckless irresponsibility. The longing for peace, on the other hand, contrasts with his admonitions to look after the fleet, although the lively conversation between the triremes in the second parabasis of the *Knights* is a fervent attack against the war-mongers and their fantastic imperialism.⁴ It is not easy to reconcile these conflicting views. To some extent, it may all be due to the fact that serious logic is not a feature of comedy. However true that may be, it seems an unsatisfactory explanation, and we are left to wonder whether in matters which were obviously so near to the poet's heart he could so manifestly contradict himself.

It is probably true to say that all the comedians, as far as they had a definite political bias, turned against the imperialists, though frequently only for the sake of peace and prosperity. Kratinos, who praised Kimon's Panhellenism and attacked Perikles' tyranny,⁵ was the first to play that tune. A generation later, it was the same with Aristophanes. In the struggle between war-party and peace-party he knew no compromise and consistently attacked the war-mongers. There is no need to quote all the relevant passages. Criticism extends to politicians and military leaders alike, and this was not merely a privilege of comedy. Euripides, for example, thinks a general ought to look for himself what the position is, and not rely on reports by scouts; moreover, he blames those generals who

¹ A 119off. Cf V. Coulon, *Philologus* LXXXV (1942), 31ff.

² Norwood, 205

³ F. 430

⁴ K 130off.

⁵ Kratinos 1: 38 P, 15ff Cf in general J. Th. M. F. Pieters, *Kratinos* (1946)

rely on high spirits rather than good counsel, who promote war without justification and are tempted by vain hopes.¹ Hope for victory was sometimes based on the firm conviction that one's own side was fighting for a good cause,² but frequently that was only a pretext, and sometimes even no pretext was required. Aristophanes' hatred for all war-policy was so strong that his descriptions of the war-mongers certainly do not do justice to them.³ We could hardly expect anything else from comedy, but then we must draw the appropriate conclusion. Caricature becomes here propaganda. The energetic and daring courage of the Athenians, which the enemy admired, hardly appears in comedy, only the wild expansionist plans of those politicians who were all out for waging war, and, on the other hand, the dangerous eagerness to stop the war, or not to wage war at all, simply because of war-weariness, such as the Spartans were accused of by the Corinthians.⁴ However, the bellicose Acharnians at first hate the peace-maker Dikaiopolis much more ardently than they hate Kleon, the demagogue who was the enemy of the agrarian population.⁵ The devastation of the countryside, the ruined vineyards, and similar experiences,⁶ strengthened the arguments of those who wanted 'to see the thing through to the end', though such arguments chiefly affected the peasants who, on the whole, were not very bellicose. The townsfolk, on the other hand, welcomed the opportunity of adding to the financial burden of the well-to-do.

Menelaos in Euripides' *Andromache* tries to defend the Trojan War and to emphasize the positive values which it had offered to the Greeks. He praises in particular the spirit of

¹ Eur. *Herakl.* 390ff. — *Hik.* 161f, 232ff, 479ff. ἐλπίς βροτοῖς κάκιστον (479).

² e.g., Eur. *Herakl.* 755 ff, *Hik.* 304ff, 339ff, 745ff.

³ e.g., A 305ff, 560ff, cf 978ff.

⁴ Thuc. I, 70, 2. — Thuc. I, 124, 2

⁵ A 300.

⁶ A 232, 512. Nothing is said of the olive trees, and the economic recovery of Athens after the war induces one to believe that most of them were spared. A fig tree is mentioned as having been cut down (P 628f). A different opinion is expressed by Michell, 85, but his evidence, which includes even *Deuteronomy*, is insufficient. Thuc. VII, 27, in describing the devastation of Attica after the occupation of Dekeleia, does not mention the olive trees either. Lysias VII, on the other hand, confirms that actually many olive trees, even sacred ones, were cut down during the war, but how far Attic oil-production was crippled by that remains uncertain.

comradeship created by the war in which professional soldiers and civilians had fought side by side.¹ He is not an impressive witness, but his words reflect a reality which has always been manifest in times of war. The comic poets, however, had no use for such militaristic arguments. They speak only — and not in favourable terms — of the solidarity among those who considered war their profession, above all among the army officers. Strategoi, taxiarchs and the rest, some of whom were, as we have seen,² connected by birth, were also brought together as members of the same *phyle* — that is to say in this connection, as comrades of the same regiment.³ It is possible, though only with certain reservations, to speak of a 'military party', and among those who stood for war, the war-profiteers, especially manufacturers of arms, are not lacking, nor are those who had embezzled public funds intended for the prosecution of the war; money was in circulation, and many benefited by this.⁴ Some of the demagogues were in favour of the war, not for the reasons given in comedy, but because it provided greater opportunities of satisfying their ambitions; the appeal to patriotic feeling, and often enough in such disguise to baser instincts, usually led to success with the masses.⁵ The other side of the picture is seen in the soldier's widow who earns her own and her children's living by making wreaths.⁶ Finally we may add to the number of those who stood to gain by the war, the slaves, and among them especially the miners, who seized the opportunity to run away, and the other slaves who, in general, were better treated since the outbreak of war.⁷ This, it is true, was a grave drawback for the citizens. Nevertheless, the number of citizens who supported the war and the war-policy for one reason or another was not inconsiderable. As we have already pointed out, it is not true that only Kleon and a few war-mongers were responsible for the continuation of the war-policy. A decisive factor, of course, was that a large number of the townsfolk did not suffer very badly from the

¹ Eur. *Andr.* 681ff

² See p. 108.

³ A 566ff. The *phyle* means here not the political division, but the troops which it supplied (cf. Thuc. VI, 98, 4, Xen. *hell.* IV, 2, 19).

⁴ P 447ff, 545, 1210ff — L. 589ff. Cf. Xen. *mem.* III, 6, 7.

⁵ Cf., e.g., both Kleon's and Diodotos' speeches on Mytilene (Thuc. III, 37ff, 42ff).

⁶ Th 446ff

⁷ P 451 — C 5ff

war. If, however, Aristophanes thinks that the war-party were actuated, in so far as their motives were not wholly bad, merely by ambition and the spirit of adventure,¹ and not also by serious political ideas and patriotic feeling, we must attribute this verdict to the general character of comedy. Even so, we must remember that the ordinary unimportant citizens were little influenced by high ideals or by more than personal feelings in their attitude to war and peace.

Naturally the picture is not to be painted quite so sharply in black and white as the comic writers would have us believe. We can see this even from comedy itself. To Trygaios the peaceful scent of Eirene's companion is no doubt more fragrant than 'the soldier's knapsack'.² It was, to put it mildly, inconvenient and disagreeable, if 'the sheepskin [worn by the soldier in cold weather] was victorious over the kneading-trough made of stone'; the metaphor is rather bold, but its meaning cannot be mistaken.³ Especially during the years when a large part of the population of Attica was crowded together inside the Long Walls, and the Athenians dwelt 'in casks, nests, and turrets',⁴ the morale of the people may sometimes have been rather low. The plague, too, had a very serious effect. All the passages, however, which express a desire for peace and depict the happy life of peaceful times, frequent though they are, speak, in justification of a quick peace, only of the return of the peasants to the country and especially of the material advantages and enjoyments of peace.⁵ When specific aims are mentioned, they are, for instance, the re-opening of market trade and the renewed importation of foreign goods.⁶ Later, therefore, when the invasions of Attica have ceased, it is the *emporoi* and *naukleroi*, the sea-traders, who are chiefly concerned about peace — even more than the farmers.⁷ It was possible to speak of 'peace-profiteers', such as the man who produced agricultural tools and was now able to sell them at high prices.⁸ Peaceful 'Reconciliation' (*Diallage*)

¹ P 441ff, 450

² P 526f

³ Hermipp 57.

⁴ K.792f.

⁵ The evidence is well known and ample, cf A 201f, 971ff, 1048ff, 1085ff, K 1394f, P 324ff, 339ff, 439f, 530ff, 556ff, 566ff, 582ff, 1127ff, frg 107, 109, 363-4, 400

⁶ A 623ff. — A 916, P.999ff, L.109f

⁷ Xen. *Paroi*, 5, 3

⁸ P 1200f

belongs to Aphrodite and Eros, and the prayer for peace, significantly enough, invokes Hermes and Aphrodite and her companions.¹ Peace meant business and pleasure.

The economic advantages of peace are, however, seen and admitted from a private point of view only. This is true even of the play called *Peace*, although Eirene was to be the saviour of Greeks everywhere. Not until the drastic financial requirements and financial distress after the collapse of 403 could the 'great illusion' be recognized as it concerned the State. Then it was possible to see that even a victorious war had a much more disastrous effect on public finance than the quiet times of peace.² This view, however, is not likely to have been widespread; in general, the public did not much trouble in advance about the economic results of the war. But these results were so disastrous from the financial point of view, that after the war even the ordinary politician had to accept them as a fact.

Once again, we ask whether it is correct to take the evidence of comedy as significant and, to some extent, as true. Athena Promachos stood on the Acropolis — the goddess of warfare. Had the Athenians ceased to follow her leadership? Perhaps years of peace and the relative easiness of their rule over the Aegean Sea had weakened their fighting spirit. The long and weary war, with its grave disasters, must have had its effects, though it never fully broke the amazing elasticity of the Athenian character. The later years reveal indeed less of that buoyancy which characterized some of the earlier campaigns of the war.³ The Sicilian Expedition, at least, was guided by an hysterical rather than a sound and soldierly spirit. War and peace, in their influence on the mind of the public, might still be equally effective; but no longer was there a heroic view of war or an idealistic view of peace.

If we look for a higher ideal, ethical or political, as a justification for peace, only one is mentioned — that it would be a good thing at last to end the quarrels among the Greek States,

¹ A 989 — P.456, cf 975ff, and above, p 55f

² Xen *Poroi*, 5, 11ff

³ e.g., Thuc II, 31 The view expressed in the text does not contradict Wade-Gery's picture of the fighting spirit of Athens which is chiefly concerned with the 'sixties and 'fifties of the century (*Harvard Studies in Cl Phil*, Vol for Ferguson, 153).

and finally 'disentangle the skein'.¹ What is called the Panhellenism of Aristophanes is undoubtedly one of the ideas on which two of his comedies, the *Peace* and the *Lysistrata*, are based.² It is, however, neither an end in itself nor a constructive element, but merely the means to a desired result, to secure peace as quickly as possible. Nor have treaties mentioned in comedy, such as that of Dikaionpolis, any higher aims. There is, naturally enough, nothing of that solemnity with which Euripides describes, for example, the founding of the friendship between Athens and Argos on an oath prescribed by Athena, its words were to be inscribed on a tripod dedicated to the Delphic Apollo as 'a testimony to Hellas'.³ This is significant. It is, of course, a reflection of current practice into the mythical plane. A dedication in one of the Panhellenic sanctuaries was the only possible feature by which a bilateral treaty could be raised to some Panhellenic relevance. We must not think of peace at that time, whether in comedy or elsewhere, as a Panhellenic ideal. Panhellenism, though alive in every Greek when he thought of the barbarians, did not yet have any substantial impact on politics. In Aristophanes' last play the Panhellenic idea appears occasionally as an item in social and economic reform or revolution.⁴ In the *Lysistrata* the struggle for peace among the Greek States is certainly raised to a higher level by the warm humanity and dominating personality of the leader, and the ideal of peace is here an active and dynamic element in the plot, whereas elsewhere it is simply the expression of quietist hope. To the majority of the women, however, in this play too, peace is a matter of private interest and welfare.

Most surprising perhaps in all these expressions of longing for peace is the fact that nothing is said about the loss of life caused by war. Not a word is said of the dangers of war, though mothers are described once as being eager to protect their sons.⁵ It is obvious that the prisoners wanted peace; but they were powerless;⁶ it was well known that a few years back the Athenians had found the Spartan prisoners a valuable

¹ P 993ff — L 567ff

² P 302, 473ff, 619ff, 993ff, 1082, L 291, 39ff, 342f, 554, 1005f, 1110f, 1128ff. Cf W M Huggill, *Panhellenism in Aristophanes* (1936)

³ Eur *Hek.* 1181ff, quotation 1212

⁴ Pl 463

⁵ E 233f

⁶ P 479f

counter in the peace negotiations. Losses in war were an unsuitable subject for comedy, but for the pathos of the *Lysistrata* they would have been the perfect argument. Indeed Lysistrata says, 'We have borne sons and then sent them out as hoplites, and the *proboulos* answers 'Be quiet' Do not remember past evils.'¹ This is generally understood as a brief reminder of the severe losses during the war which was hushed up as out of place in a comedy.² It may be doubted whether this is quite the right interpretation. Early in 411, only one and a half years after the disaster at Syracuse, with no other important land battle since, the 'sending out of hoplites' would most naturally indicate the Sicilian Expedition. And it is perhaps the mind of the timid official rather than the need of comedy which dictated the answer (though we do not wish to press the latter point). Anyhow, even here the poet does not refer to the losses in general, but to a single event of fatal importance to the State. Other sources, too, only very rarely speak of the losses which by the significant institution of the official *Logos Epitaphios* were lifted out of the purely private sphere. An official epitaph like that on the dead of Potidaia (432 B.C.) could be written in words as beautiful as these: 'This city and Erechtheus' people are longing for the men, the sons of the Athenians, who died fighting in the front line at Potidaia; they staked their lives as the price of valour, and brought glory to their country.'³ It was the Polis which counted, and it might mourn for the dead, as Athena does on a famous relief. Only the State spoke of its sorrow. It is true that such an outlook formed part of the old traditions which were in process of change and dissolution both then and afterwards. At the moment these traditions still survived, and we realize that to archaic Athens, not to speak of Sparta, individuals were almost nothing but citizens, and citizens might almost cease to be men.⁴

We get an entirely different impression from Euripides, and it is this question more than any other — equalled only

¹ L. 589f.

² Cf., e.g., Wilamowitz, on v. 590 'An die ungeheuren Verluste durfte und mochte der Dichter nur von fern erinnern'.

³ IG. I², 945 (Tod, 59), 10ff

⁴ It is in many ways significant that Plato again 'seems to treat war as a normal incident of political life, not in the least as a public evil to be abolished' (G. Murray, *JHS* LXIV, 1944, 2)

perhaps by the religious problems — which reveals how lonely his voice was. Although public opinion was frequently reflected in his plays by one character or another, he himself rarely followed it. Aristophanes, on the other hand, can time and again be seen sharing the views of a large section of the people. Euripides — together with a few 'modern' thinkers — remained isolated, a man whose single-mindedness was ahead of his time. To show this, it will suffice to point to a few passages only. Though he may have shared the common view that the best thing to do for a man is to be 'hard to one's foes and kind to one's friends',¹ his hatred of war is of a very different kind from that of the comedians. It burns like a fire through such plays as the *Hiketides* and the *Troades*, and the terrible loss of life — of sons, husbands, fathers — is a theme frequently repeated, and sometimes in almost identical words.² These plays taught the little-known truth that war spells doom for vanquished and victors alike. Euripides realized the foolishness of war which does not decide anything and only leads to never-ending retaliation.³ The generals have the glory and the advantages, the common soldiers the hardships and the dangers.⁴ Naturally, when it was necessary to ward off a 'lover of war', Athens would defend herself; but peace remained the aim of the government.⁵ Peace is praised, frequently in a traditional manner,⁶ but the praise is based on the knowledge that peace rather than war can be defended by reason and sensible argument.⁷ Surely, Euripides was a pacifist.

The desire for peace expressed in comedy is not pacifism, which is an attitude of mind based on principle. How could the comedians be pacifists, they who at the same time praised the soldierly virtues of bygone days! Nowhere in comedy is there any sign of the view that war is 'a violent teacher', as Thucydides impressively describes it, or that it makes men brutal and savage, and so destroys also the inner peace of the State.⁸ At most it is said that war affords ample opportunity for the dishonest practices of the demagogues.⁹ Nor do

¹ Eur. *Med.* 809.

² Eur. *Andr.* 611ff, 1038f, *Kykl.* 304ff, *Hek.* 650ff, cf 322ff.

³ Eur. *Tro.* 95ff, *El.* 377ff, *Hel.* 1151ff.

⁴ Eur. *Andr.* 693ff.

⁵ Eur. *Herakl.* 371ff

⁶ Eur. *Hik.* 489ff, 949ff, *frg.* 453

⁷ Eur. *Hik.* 486ff

⁸ Thuc. III, 82.

⁹ K 801ff, cf Thuc. V, 16, 1.

empty of any higher ideal. People who feel like this cannot be taken in by high-sounding patriotic phrases such as Dikaio-polis uses in addressing the officials, his voice ringing with the true indignation of the offended Greek patriot, when the Thracian ambassadors have stolen his bag¹. No doubt his words are an exact and typical reflection of reality. In a sense the passionate oratory of warlike men, though it frequently sounds shallow, may have been more genuine, and doubtless more realistic, than that of the peace-maker. Even in comedy the warlike type is represented not only by the ridiculous and tragi-comic Lamachos or his superior officers who were 'stronger in quantity than quality', but in some degree also by the chorus of the knights, who praise Athens as eminent in war, poetry and power.² After his death the same Lamachos who had been so cruelly derided in life is praised as a hero.³ There was, in fact, a strong political obligation to continue the war, so long as Athens fought for her empire, and in the end for her very existence.

Yet the peasants' desire for peace is not a matter of pure reasoning and opportunism. It results from the specific attitude of peasants who can combine sober and material calculation with an unreasoning devotion to land, to home and garden, to their crops and their cattle. Among the peasants there was no room for a war-policy, the more so since in Athens war then meant naval warfare. Even if the larger part of the crews was formed by townsfolk, they included a certain number of peasants, and these naturally disliked this kind of warfare more than fighting on land, which had sometimes meant fighting on their soil for their soil.

On the other hand, the bellicose demos did not only believe in the necessity of warfare; it was also largely influenced by the idea of material advantage, especially by the chance of acquiring rich booty, though sometimes the material advantage might mean simply the soldier's pay.⁴ The new century, however, saw the introduction of mercenary troops with their good and bad qualities, to take the place of the citizen army.⁵ There had been mercenaries as early as the Peloponnesian War for certain technical purposes, occasionally they were employed even as hoplites, and in 403 Lysias was certainly

¹ A 167f² A 1078 — K 581ff³ F 1040, cf Th.841⁴ Cf E 197f⁵ Cf. Pl 173

not the only one who hired soldiers for Thrasyboulos.¹ It could, however, be said that by 392 in the Corinthian War the large citizen armies had been demobilized, and only guards left in the fortresses of Corinth and Sikyon; 'but both parties had mercenaries, and with them they fought vigorously'.² The growing importance of mercenary troops went hand in hand with the declining willingness of the citizens to take the field.

A certain danger lay in the possibility that the question of war and peace might gradually divide the population of town and country. Many honest and wealthy peasants had lost all their property during the Spartan invasions, whereas in wartime the townsmen had the advantage in every way. It was even easier for them to avoid mobilization.³ As long as sardines were cheap, the townsfolk did not think of making peace.⁴ This is a joke which expresses in pointed fashion that the town need not rely on the country for food, and therefore did not care very much for the interests and sufferings of the rural population.⁵ In 425 Athens, in spite of the unrest of the war, was full of an intense economic life and industrial prosperity.⁶ The people there were convinced that the war fought through to a final and complete victory would bring them more prosperity and more power.

We have stressed a number of features which make the conflict in Aristophanes' own opinions less absolute and thus less puzzling. Longing for peace was no pacifism, and hatred of the war-mongers did not prevent the poet from recognizing the need of military valour and of a display of Athenian naval power, wherever it could be brought in line with his predominant general ideas. His criticism, however, was directed against realities. The irresponsible war-policy of some of the leaders as well as the general decline of soldierly virtues were facts, and not only themes of moralistic preaching by a man who to some extent was certainly a *laudator temporis acti*. The time had gone when the whole military strength of the State was founded on the unquestioning submission of its citizens.

¹ A.153ff, B 1179, frg 550-1 — Lysias XII, 52f, frg 1, 165. Cf H W Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers*, 16ff.

² Xen *hell* IV, 4, 14.

³ ἀγαθοὶ γεωργοί, Ps-Lysias XX, 33 — P 1185f.

⁴ K 671ff.

⁵ A 1022ff.

⁶ A 544ff.

to the military demands of the moment. Earlier than other States of the Greek mainland, Athens, as a sea-power and as the leading State of the Aegean empire, had developed beyond this stage, which, in fact, was the essential basis of the Polis. The unique development of Athens explains the increasing disappearance of the martial spirit, it even forced it on, much as had happened in Ionia a century earlier. Conditions, however, after the breakdown of the empire and her external power turned out to be very uncertain and dangerous, since what the enemy had spared was threatened by the citizens themselves, by their lack of discipline and of common purpose. Athens recovered from her political and economic collapse, but there were now many non-citizens, even barbarians, in the ranks,¹ and never again — even Chaironeia is no exception — did her citizens as a body form a single unit to defend their State and their freedom.

Political events show that, beneath the surface of a petty and narrow-minded attitude, a spark of heroism was concealed, in the friends of war as well as of peace, a spark which might occasionally flare up, but would not grow into a steady fire. The two groups of the people, the two sides of the people's mind, represent two possibilities inherent in the Athenian character, both of them equally dangerous. unrestricted pleasure in power and warlike recklessness on the one hand, abandonment to private indolence and peaceful enjoyment on the other. Perhaps these are general human qualities, and in normal times the troubles they cause may be of minor importance. It was different in a war which was actually a matter of life and death to the whole State. Then, and also during the hard struggle for recovery, the lack of a common and moderate spirit among leaders and people was a real danger. In all the years of the war and its aftermath, Athenian policy swung to and fro between the two extremes. Dangers from outside might still cause the Athenians to rally, but as soon as the danger had passed or only slightly receded, the violent feelings between the various political groups broke into open quarrels again, while the political apathy of the mass of the citizens grew steadily.

It was this curious and dangerous intermixture of external and internal conflicts, combined with the selfish quietism

¹ Xen *Poroi* 2, 2f

of many of the citizens, that prepared the soil for revolution and defeat. The opportunist was the man of the hour, and nobody typified such an attitude more strongly than Alkibiades. With his splendour and his genius, his utter lack of character and conscience, and his dissolute life, he both reflected and magnified characteristic qualities of his people. In him as in the Athenians generally the old military tradition lived on; in him as in the Athenians the wonderful lightness of a great and peaceful civilization survived.¹ The achievements of Athens during the later years of the war, both in her military efforts and her works of art, resulted, great though they were, from a spirit that was losing its unity and strength. There were still strong reserves which prevented a sudden breakdown and even allowed partial recovery. There could be a temporary revival of military inventiveness and energy in Iphikrates' light-armed forces. But the following decades saw Athenian generals becoming mercenary adventurers, and the greatest mind of the age banned the freedom of art and poetry from his ideal State. On the other hand, a book such as Xenophon's *Poroi*, written as a practical proposal for the restoration of power and prosperity, shows how fully even a man who had strong sympathies with military qualities submitted to the demands of pacifist materialism. The two traditions of soldierly valour and creative culture separated and were largely corrupted. Perikles had known how to combine martial spirit, intellectual civilization and economic welfare. He found no successor.

¹ Cf. F. Taeger, *Alkibiades* (1943), the much improved version of an earlier book, though I still cannot share all his views

CHAPTER XII

ECONOMICS AND THE STATE

I

ONE of the chief points in the political programme described by Perikles in the Funeral Speech is that all citizens should devote their attention to both house and State, to private as well as public affairs¹. It can be maintained that at that time, and later even more, the citizens of Athens represented a combination of the political and the economic types of man. Naturally members of the upper class had more opportunity to devote themselves entirely to political life, but democracy demanded an interest in political activity from the great mass of the people. In fact, political leaders emerged from the middle classes at the very time when in these classes political preoccupation was gradually giving way to economic interests. The ordinary citizen then was neither by instinct nor by desire the 'political animal' whom Aristotle's phrase has made famous and who is generally believed to be the true pattern of the Greek citizen.

Let us recall some of the evidence of comedy. The citizen who is exploited by Kleon is depicted as a stupid and wealthy man who is not concerned with politics, but actually afraid of them. He is called *apragmon*, the unpolitical man². Thus Peithetairos and Euelpides, though citizens belonging to tribe and clan, left Athens in order to find 'an unpolitical place', far from the unrest of politics and law-courts.³ It is, like the ideal of peace, a quietist ideal, but it is here confined to the internal affairs of the State; it springs from the reaction against the agitation and restlessness of democracy. The sycophant who boasts that everything concerning the State lies in his hands is an undesirable type of leader, especially in the view of a good citizen.⁴ Nevertheless he rejects a quiet life as inhuman and unendurable, and in this he resembles the

¹ Thuc II, 40, 2

² K.261ff. See p. 109, n. 5, and my article mentioned there

³ B 33f, 44

⁴ Pl 919f

Athenian statesmen of an earlier generation. During the Peloponnesian War a process began by which the *polites*, the citizen as a political being, lost his exclusively or at least predominantly political character. This process was decisive in the further development of the Greeks.

Aristophanes apparently fights for an unpolitical ideal. That is, of course, a very different thing from saying that he is an oligarch, though he seems indeed a sharp critic of democracy, or at least of some of its leaders. He represents a type of citizen who did not care for party politics. The rich man already mentioned was neither an oligarch nor of noble family.¹ Such citizens did not deliberately abandon politics because they were disgusted with them, as a few may have been. That rich man was not interested in politics because he was simply a business man. It is most likely that he himself or possibly his father had made the family fortune. For in families with inherited wealth a political career was traditional,² though it might sometimes be a career which involved opposition to the existing form of State. Our man, however, though doubtless a member of the upper classes,³ owed his fortune either to trade or to manufacture. The heliasts of the *Wasps* might claim to be the only true autochthonous Athenians — in fact, all were equally citizens of Athens, 'honest and loving the State': the farmer, the merchant, the craftsman.⁴ The *emporos* also is a true citizen, and it is quite wrong to maintain that all citizens who took part in trade were 'proletarians'. Many good and wealthy citizens were chiefly engaged in the pursuit of economic aims.⁵

Comedy is a source which discourages all attempts at idealization, except perhaps in the description of rural life. In general it is more likely to go to the opposite extreme, and offer satire and caricature instead of reality. Innumerable passages in all the comedies, for instance, discuss food. Every type of 'feeder' is mentioned, the refined gourmand no less than the

¹ K.261f

² In Euripides' *Andromache* (151ff) Hermione claims her right of *ἐλευθεροστομεῖν* because of her noble origin and rich dowry.¹

³ He is *μη πονηρός*, K.265

⁴ W 1076 — Pl.899ff, cf. E 299ff, and elsewhere

⁵ This does not, of course, contradict the view that metics, and in particular freedmen, rather than citizens came nearest to the pure type of 'economic man'. Cf. Sir A. Zimmern, *Solon and Croesus*, 132

'man who likes his porridge', or the ordinary citizen who lunches on bread and garlic, or at the best on half-an-obol's worth of meat and a little cheese.¹ The people's love for food is an eternal joke. The signet ring of Demos has as a seal a particular dish, and the competition of the two rascals for the favour of Demos ends in each of them offering him the most delicious dishes, all given by the goddess.² It is also a joke, but one which nevertheless reveals a probably typical culinary materialism, when Peithetairos, the great founder of a new State, at his wedding to Basileia, the queenly goddess from Heaven, remarks. 'Those birds were slaughtered just at the right moment.'³ Comedy itself is frequently likened to a luxurious meal given to the public, while the play of a competitor is compared to a cheap breakfast.⁴ The significance of such passages may be summed up in the phrase 'Most things exist to most men for the sake of eating only', or in Polyphemos' philosophy. 'to eat and to drink day by day is Zeus for wise men'⁵ The importance of the food problem to the majority of the people is not to be questioned.

Little wonder therefore that fond dreams centred on the subject of food. In the *Acharnians* we hear of Dikaiopolis' elaborate preparations for a magnificent dinner, and there are other similar descriptions, even in tragedy.⁶ The comic poets, above all, enjoy describing the miracles of a glutton's Paradise, which might even be situated in Hades.⁷ The wonders of fairy-land could be extended beyond the sphere of food; all sorts of things would move of their own, and without having to bother about slaves, everyone would share all possible pleasures of life.⁸ Day-dreams of this type, however, do not embody social or economic facts of any importance, nor do they, though they express popular opinion, reflect the whole reality of life. The simple materialism of the land of Cockaigne, the land where every wish is instantly fulfilled,⁹ was a pleasant

¹ frg 506, perhaps also 5 D — adesp 1190 — A 164, W 679f, F.550ff

² K 953f, 1166ff ³ B 1688

⁴ e.g., frg 333, Kratinos 169, Pherekr 122, Metagenes 14, adesp 1330 — K 537f

⁵ adesp. 432. — Eur. *Kykl.* 336f

⁶ A.1040ff. — Eur. *frg* 467

⁷ B.128ff, E.605ff, Pl.806ff, Kratinos 165, Pherekr 143, Telekleid 1, Metagenes 6, Nikophon 13-14 — frg 488, Pherekr 108

⁸ Krates 15, Pherekr 130

⁹ frg 39 D.

and favourite item in the comedian's stock-in-trade, but in the life lived by real people there were few marvels of culinary art, or other enjoyable miracles. Still, from one point of view those pictures of a materialistic paradise are significant. If everybody has everything he wants, there are no longer rich and poor, and private property has ceased to exist. Thus the comic dreams have a share in that fairly widespread tendency among contemporary writers to outline some new ideal society on a 'communist' basis, as we find it reflected in the *Ekklesiazousai*

The pleasures of good food and a comfortable life are natural objects for human desires. In comedy, their importance is clearly over-emphasized, though there was some economic reality behind such yearnings. Those fairy-tales were taken seriously enough, probably because they derived from some kind of escapism, to be derided by Eupolis in his *Golden Age* and by Aristophanes in the *Tagenistae* or *Broilers*.¹ They have also some significance for our picture of Athenian society. The thoughts and wishes which lay behind those imaginings form part of a definite outlook, the outlook of the petty citizen, which is common, in some degree, to all strata of society. There were many links between the various groups and levels of the population, between town and country, noblemen and commons, rich and poor. The bulk of the people in town and country were not proletarians, but belonged to the lower middle-classes. It is of particular social importance that the old distinction between men with landed property and those without it, the so-called *thetes*, no longer held good. As early as about 445, when a colony was being founded in Brea, the new colonists were chosen from the *zeugitai* as well as from the *thetes*.² Peasant and merchant, craftsman and worker were included in the common type of *petit bourgeois*, but even the day-labourers and other representatives of the very poor were not of an altogether different social type, perhaps with the exception of the 'beggars', who were almost outcasts. Attached to the small local community of the deme, the ordinary citizen, no matter what his vocation, no matter whether he was called

¹ Eupolis 276ff, frg 580, see also 680 (where Meineke's correction αὐτοματ' αὐτοῖς for αὐτομάτοισιν seems necessary). Cf. Gomme, *Hist. Comm. on Thuc* I, 104f

² *IG*. I², 45 (Tod, 44, *Syll.*², 67)

'the Man of the Demos' or 'the Man in the Street',¹ was the true representative of a State which since the time of Kleisthenes had based its political structure on the deme. The Kleisthenic order, which had at this time been in force for about a century, with its uniform organization of the State and its dexterous mingling of the people, formed a framework to which Athenian society adapted itself only gradually, nevertheless that order had created and moulded the general type of citizen.

The Athenians did not turn away from politics on principle, and certainly not in a sudden and general movement. Likewise it is unjustifiable simply to assume, as is frequently done, that the majority of the citizens lived in and through politics only. We do not deny that there were many men who lived more or less on the State,² but there were opposing forces, in both real and ideal life. Let us not forget that large sections of the people had, in spite of their own occupations, much time on their hands. Many of them had little difficulty in leaving their work for a day or even several days, provided they received the compensation of a small fee. The peasants worked really hard only for about half the year, and the traders did not put to sea during the winter. Others too were much freer than men of similar vocation and similar social standards in other ages. The retailer or artisan, for instance, was his own master, depending on, and responsible to, nobody else; there was nothing to prevent his occasionally closing his shop. The fact that the shops and workshops were so small and so numerous made it easier for a large number of their owners to accept public payment, though this did not necessarily mean that they actually lived on the State. For a long time at least, political and economic activities remained more or less evenly balanced.³ When economic needs became too strong and the citizens turned away from politics, the State inter-

¹ For the *δημότης* see, above, p. 82 n. 3. *ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὁδοῦ* is a phrase actually used by Eupolis 25 D.

² This is the so-called *Staatsrentnertum* which plays such a great part in modern literature, especially in Hasebroek's often-quoted book.

³ Cf. the lively description by Ferguson, *Americ. Hist. Rev.* XLV (1940), 273: 'As farmers, traders, seamen, contractors, manufacturers, artisans, labourers, the Athenians had to work for their living, but they took an amount of time off for public service and, we may add, for talk, sport, and conviviality, which would have wrecked our economic system.'

portance in our investigation, for it was based on the other economic factors, and *vice versa*. The standard of agricultural and industrial production depended to a large extent on the intensity and vitality of trade.

The comedians tell us little about these problems. This can partly be explained by the fact that the ordinary citizen saw in the State neither an abstract conception nor a personality greater than the individual, but simply a community of men. In comedy, therefore, the people could be personified on the stage, but the Polis could not, unless it was represented not as a social community, but as a factor in foreign policy, as in the *Poles* of Eupolis. We find in comedy only slight indications of the relations between State and economics. Some of the facts have already been mentioned: the concession, for instance, by which all law-suits in which sea-traders were concerned, were reserved for the winter. We hear of the public supervision of trade and traffic in the market¹ and, of course, of the fundamental importance of the food question. It seems possible to go a few steps further.

The State as a community of men, that is as the people, was embodied in the *ekklesia*, the assembly acting as the sovereign of the State. No doubt, this sovereign people tried to provide as best as it could for its own economic needs and advantages. A large part of the people, and an even larger part of the assembly, was directly interested in trade and craft. Did the State interfere in their activities, if only for their own advantage? In general, it is true, economic life was free from official influence or control, except for the existence of minor officials such as the *agoranomoi* who were responsible for the safety and order of the market-trade, for the accuracy of weights and measures, and similar matters. There are, however, allusions to other and more important connections between State and economic life. The sausage-seller's report about the assembly is no doubt a wild caricature, but the news that cheaper sardines meant the continuation of the war could hardly be given if there was no possible association of ideas.² In war-time especially, the rulers had to provide, in one way or another, for both political and economic needs. The import of lantern-wicks from an enemy country is the occasion for a bit of foolery, a grotesque representation of sycophantism in opera-

¹ A.723, 824f, 968, W 1406f.

² K.624ff, 671f.

tion, but it would have had much less comic effect if an official prohibition of the import of certain goods had been out of the question.¹ If we take into consideration how rarely Athens enjoyed peace, the question of contraband,² that is the prohibition of the export of certain goods to certain countries in war-time, must have been of considerable economic importance. Another instance of State interference is the attempt made by the assembly to fix the price of salt at a lower level. It was impossible to carry through the decree, perhaps because of the traders' 'vested interests'; but it is important, at any rate, to realize that this sort of State interference could occur.³ The ruling statesman, when on one occasion he met with strong resistance from the people, could think of closing the flour-market by way of reprisal.⁴ By offering flour to the citizens a politician might win their favour, except when 'the town was full of bread',⁵ a contingency which certainly did not often occur. The political leader had to consider 'how long the Polis would be able to live on the corn grown in the country, and how much every year was needed in addition'.⁶ All these passages show the naturally close connection between the food question and politics, and we may take it for certain that the mere task of keeping the corn routes free from interference was in itself a matter of high policy and frequent military measures. The necessity and the difficulty of getting grain and other vital supplies for the State and the people afforded a means by which politics could influence economics, and, even more, economics could affect politics.⁷

Kleon was the first who consistently pursued a policy that was dictated by the economic needs and social demands of the middle classes. He was, at the same time, called the collector of customs duties and the 'bottomless abyss of gain'.⁸ The

¹ A.916ff Cf. Boeckh, I, 69 It is interesting to note Herod. V, 88, 2 on the protection which Aegina and Argos afforded their own production of pottery by forbidding the import of Athenian ware

² τὰ ἀπὸ ῥοπῆτα, Th 363f, F 362ff, cf K.278f

³ E.814 and schol

⁴ K 856ff

⁵ adesp 425

⁶ Xen mem III, 6, 13

⁷ Much has been written during recent times about the economics of the Polis. The latest book on the food question, which was not yet known to Michell, is K. Koster, *Die Lebensmittelversorgung der altgriech. Polis* (*Neue Deutsche Forschungen*, Abt. Alte Gesch., Bd 7, 1939). The author has made good use of the epigraphical evidence

⁸ K 248

chief demagogue himself had certainly nothing to do directly with the customs; he stands here for the State, and it is clear that customs-duties were a heavy burden, directly to the merchant and trader, indirectly to the consumer. The comedian could speak of a visitor to a brothel in the same way as of a trader boarding his ship. 'before embarking you must pay harbour-dues'.¹ The customs were harbour-fees, to be paid by all ships coming and going, that is to say, they were purely financial measures not based on any idea of economic protection or the like. As has been emphasized already, there were two chief purposes in the economic measures of the State the feeding of the people, and the creation of fiscal revenue. It may be questioned whether these were the only purposes, but they were predominant. At any rate, if trade in necessities, such as corn or timber for house- and ship-building, represented the bulk of Athenian trade, as it certainly did, it must have influenced the policy of the State in a much larger degree than all the luxury trade. It seems strange that some scholars should assume the contrary. It was essential to all citizens engaged in trade and craft, and, because of the food question, essential to every Athenian, that the sea-routes from the Black Sea and the northern shores of the Aegean to the Peiraeus should be kept open and safe. It seems impossible that the politicians should have been unaware of this fact. Politics and economics were inseparably connected.

We have spoken of the customs. Now we must ask what part they and the other taxes and dues played in economic life in general. It is well known that the Greeks had no system of direct taxation such as today forms the main bulwark of public finances. This is indeed a remarkable fact, but it does not prove, as is sometimes believed, that in Athens, in normal times at least, the State imposed no financial burdens whatever on its citizens. Certainly the so-called liturgies, like the trierarchy and the choregy, were undertaken voluntarily; nevertheless they were a heavy burden on the rich, as comedy quite clearly shows.² It is more significant that the State occasionally, as it seems, cheated those who undertook a liturgy; for instance, an old and rotten ship was handed over to be equipped.³ In war-time general taxes existed, and they

¹ Eupolis 48

² K 913ff.

³ See above, p. 236

weighed heavily on a large proportion of the people. Again, it is true, the rich bore the chief burden; to some extent taxation may have been an obstacle to business expansion. If there was any tendency for the State to influence economic life, it appeared in some sort of indirect protection for the small shops and workshops. In general, however, this tendency was eventually overruled by fiscal considerations, and the chief object became to secure and enlarge the State revenues. Therefore Euelpides, a typical representative of the lower middle-class, calls Athens a place 'common to all in taking fines from all'.¹ It was not only in the communist State that many revolted against allowing the fruits of their toil and thrift to fall to the State.² The difficult times through which the Polis passed inevitably affected directly all sections of the populace. The market-toll, for instance, was imposed, not only on goods from abroad, but on everything sold on the market.³ Hunger and misery among the peasants are often described, but 'the taxes and the many one-per-cent levies', or even higher levies, among them probably duties on slaves and sales-taxes, fell more heavily on the townsfolk.⁴ The citizens contributed quite a considerable sum to the public finances. This contribution was, however, largely influenced by the strength and intensity of general economic life which therefore must have been of the utmost interest and importance to the State and to the politicians who ruled it.

3

Another side of the problem is raised by the question how far the influence of economics can be seen in international relations. The Athenian League, though originally a confederacy formed chiefly for military purposes, was used with the definite intention of establishing an empire, a political unit under the supremacy of Athens. One of the chief means to this end was the creation of economic uniformity based on the exclusive use of Athenian standards of coinage, weights and

¹ B 38. This is not a literal translation. The Greek probably means 'common to all in that they have there to pay money'.

² E 750f.

³ A.896

⁴ W 658, E 1007. — Boeckh, I, 395, 402ff. The πορισται, a board who had created new taxes, were a special object for hatred (F.1505).

measures.¹ This is not the place for a detailed discussion of Athenian financial policy, but one essential point must be stressed. Perikles' policy of providing for a large State treasure by which the threatening war was to be financed was something new in Greek economics, Themistokles' use of the surplus output of Laureion for the building of a fleet was an outstanding precedent, but economically it was not in the same class. Perikles was in advance of his generation; even later it was probably left to only a few fully to realize the necessity for a State to be financially prepared. Thucydides makes it clear enough how important a factor in public life and especially in warfare the financial resources of a State actually are; but it is no accident that the most significant passages on this question, although of a general and vague character, occur in the speeches of a few particularly wise and foreseeing statesmen such as Archidamos, Perikles and Hermokrates.²

The knowledge that warfare and finances were closely bound up with one another was not yet obvious to many even of the political leaders, and we find only rarely that economic means were used in the methods of actual warfare. No doubt the attempts of Sparta to attack Athens through her empire had political as well as economic aims, and Brasidas' campaign in Thrace and Amphipolis was, at least partly, intended to cut off the import of Thracian timber which was so essential to Athens for ship-building. The purpose of the naval war in the region of the Hellespont, a strange battlefield to Spartan soldiers, was to interfere with the Athenian corn trade. Yet, nobody will assert that Spartan policy and warfare were influenced to any essential extent by economic aims.

On the Athenian side, the most obvious example of an action influenced both by political and economic considerations, an event which also played a rôle in comedy, was the Megarian Decree. The well-known passages in Aristophanes have been frequently used to indicate the popular views of the origin of the war.³ They may also serve to clarify the meaning of this famous decree, so far as it is concerned with economic policy, and it is this aspect of the problem which we propose to dis-

¹ B.104of This took place about 449 Cf. Tod, 67 (*SEG.* III, 713, *ATL* I, p. 579, T69), also above, p 157, n 10

² Cf. Gomme, *Hist. Comm on Thuc* I, 26.

³ A.515ff, P 605ff.

cuss¹ Incidentally, the whole subject is of special importance from the point of view of method, since it provides an opportunity to check the treatment in comedy of facts known to us from history.

The essential paragraph of the decree, which is known from two passages in Thucydides, runs somewhat after this fashion. the Megarians are not to be allowed to use either the harbours of the Athenian empire or the market of Athens² In Aristophanes this sentence becomes a sort of drinking-song, almost a parody of a poem of Timokreon, 'laws written like *skolia*', forbidding the Megarians to stay 'either on land or in the market or on sea or on the continent', and thus reducing them to famine.³ The point of this enumeration is to explain, without any logical accuracy, the term 'everywhere', but only the mention of the 'market', put absurdly enough between the words land and sea, alludes to the original wording. Since, however, the Athenians could not forbid anything to the Megarians except in the sphere which they controlled, that is within the boundaries of their empire, we may regard the *skolon* as being essentially in keeping with the original decree.

It has been made a matter of dispute whether the decree indicated a prohibition of trade, following perhaps on an earlier prohibition of import only, or a prohibition of traffic in general. It is hardly justifiable to conclude from the ridiculous situation in the *Acharnians*, when the Megarian is thoroughly searched for various goods, that there existed a specific decree prohibiting all kinds of import⁴ It is, on the other hand, at least as mistaken to describe such behaviour as 'ordinary evasions of customs-duties'⁵ To assume customs-frontiers between Attica and Boeotia or between Attica and

¹ Cf. Hasebroek, 122ff, where much other literature on the question is mentioned

² μή χρῆσθαι τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ μηδὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἀγορᾷ, Thuc I, 67, 4; 139, 1, cf also 144, 2; Plut *Per* 29, 4. It cannot be proved that Thucydides speaks of the harbours of the empire and the Attic market only because this was 'the most painful feature of the general exclusion' (Hasebroek, 124). He does not mention anything else because the essential phrase of the decree did not and could not mention anything else. Incidentally, I do not believe that there was a Megarian Decree before that of Perikles, as has been reconstructed from A 515ff

³ A. 532ff. — Timokreon, frg 5

⁴ A. 818ff.

⁵ Hasebroek, 123

Megara, and to try to prove their existence from Aristophanes,¹ is an odd idea; actually they were technically impossible to maintain, in particular during the Archidamian War when Peloponnesian armies crossed the Megarian frontier in invading Attica. The searching of the Megarian could only take place, if at all, at the city-gate or in the market-place. The scene in all its grotesque exaggeration indicates that Athens tried to mark down Megarian traders and to confiscate Megarian goods. This certainly proved to be the safest, indeed the only, way of keeping all Megarians out of Attica. Therefore we interpret the decree as a prohibition of trade as well as of traffic. In fact, the whole distinction seems to be artificial. All prohibition of traffic involved that of trade, and if the inversion of this statement is not necessarily true it came to be so in practice: the only way to paralyse all trade with a place was to deny it all intercourse and traffic; for the ancient State had not the means and methods of modern trade-policy to achieve something similar by treaties or customs.

A second decree, that of Charinos, must be clearly distinguished from that of Perikles;² it threatened with death all Megarians who dared to cross into Attic territory. This step, which aggravated, but did not substantially alter, the situation, was taken after the outbreak of war when, of course, enemy traders had no longer any access to the Athenian harbours and market. The second decree is certainly incompatible with the plot of the *Acharnians*, but we know that, if the actual situation on the stage demands it, the poet never keeps to reality, and it is hardly necessary to see here a real contradiction of our other evidence.³ The prohibition itself and the increased severity of the punishment are beyond doubt. Neither the first nor the second decree, however, should be accepted as 'normal manifestations of Greek alien law'.⁴ When Perikles compared the decree with the Spartan *xenelasia*, the official expulsion of foreigners, possible at certain intervals

¹ Andreades, I, 139, 4, 295 (following Boeckh)

² Plut. *Per.* 30, 3. I cannot see any possibility of identifying the decree of Charinos with the original decree of Perikles, the less so since the new decree contained regulations concerning two annual inroads into the Megarid. That could not be said before the outbreak of the war. Plutarch, it is true, puts the two decrees chronologically too close together; cf. Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altert.*, IV, 313.

³ Cf. Gomme, 98, 2

⁴ Hasebroek, 123

and known only in Sparta, this was just as much a demagogic move as his demand for autonomy for the Laconian perioeci.¹ The great political importance of, and the general excitement about, the Megarian Decree cannot be explained, except by its peculiar and unique character which was contrary to all law and custom.

The enemies of Athens are known to have made the cancellation of the Megarian Decree their chief demand in the final negotiations before the outbreak of the war.² The decree of Perikles, which was then alone in question, went against the spirit of earlier treaties, especially that of 446.³ It remains open to discussion whether a particular paragraph of the former settlement had been violated, perhaps one that provided for free trade between both partners and their allies.⁴ Plutarch, however, did not think so when he wrote that 'common rights and sworn oaths' were broken.⁵ I believe the point is this. Some decades later one could speak of the 'common peace'. This phrase could not be used at that time, since all treaties were only bilateral; the time had not yet come for a movement towards Panhellenic unity. But the primary intention of every truce and every treaty was to end war and so create a peace in which trade and traffic were free.⁶ It is a misunderstanding of the very nature of the Polis, a State without formal sovereignty and based not on territory but on men, when a modern scholar explains the matter by saying that 'each State in virtue of its sovereignty had the legal right to close its territories against foreigners'.⁷ The prohibition of access to harbours and market was in no sense a legal act, but a hostile action and therefore the violation of a peace confirmed by oath and solemn pledge. The Megarians and the Spartans in their speeches

¹ Thuc I, 144, 2

² Thuc I, 140, 4

³ Thuc I, 67, 4, and elsewhere

⁴ This is a much-defended view, contradicted by Hasebroek, 123f. He, on the other hand, is mistaken in denying all formal and legal discrepancy, he speaks only of Athens 'belying its principle of friendship to foreigners', and the like. Wade-Gery insists (probably rightly) that Perikles' statement (Thuc I, 144, 2) is true that the former treaty did not expressly forbid either the ξενηλασία or an interdiction as in the Megarian Decree. Cf also Gomme, *Hist. Comm.* I, 227 (on 67, 4).

⁵ Plut. *Per.* 29, 4

⁶ Cf H. Schaefer, *Staatsform u. Politik*, 57ff, who, however, overstresses the point and makes several mistakes of interpretation.

⁷ Hasebroek, 124. Also Lysias XXII, 14 does not say this.

make this point quite clear and leave no room for doubt that this is the correct interpretation.

Megara, situated in 'a hopeless patch of stones',¹ depended on supplies from the Black Sea and from Attica or the harbours of the Attic empire. The purpose of the decree was to intercept Megarian trade, to stop all supplies of food and raw materials and thus to force Megara politically to her knees. Since Megara was the doorway to Attica for any Spartan offensive, it is likely that by beating down Megara it was also intended to challenge Sparta and to bring about the war with an offensive stroke. The decree of Charinos proves, however, that the action was equally aimed at Megara herself. The reasons mentioned, such as the reception of runaway slaves or the cultivation of Eleusinian territory near the Megarian frontier, are out of all proportion to the harshness of the decree and are generally acknowledged to be mere pretexts. Athens wanted to turn on Megara, not in order to eliminate a competitor in trade and business, but to gain a political and strategic stronghold. She neither could nor did expect any economic advantages from her action. On the contrary, the complaints of Dikaiopolis make it very clear that the Athenians also suffered from the decree, not only because peace then 'disappeared',² but because of its immediate economic effects. The Megarians, of course, suffered much more, as we see from the poor pig-dealer in the *Acharnians*.

To sum up, we may say that a bold measure of political and legal violence was introduced, and one which resulted in economic hardship and misery, but that its ultimate purpose was political. Politics and economics were closely connected, but economic measures were pressed into the service of politics. More than merely economic matters was at stake, but a policy of trade and interference with trade loses nothing of its economic character because it is made to serve the policy of the State and not an economic purpose.

4

The several connections between politics and economics do not perhaps combine to give a clear and uniform picture. No doubt economic questions were important, and the majority

¹ T. R. Glover, *Greek Byways*, 53.

² P. 14.

country earned their living by the work of their hands. The comic poets, and doubtless many others too, disapproved of the heliasts and ecclesiasts who lived so largely on public money. This disapproval was based on moral and economic grounds, not on a political, that is to say anti-democratic, attitude. Such citizens could be compared to olive-gatherers who worked for a daily wage, or to hodmen, that is, to men whose activities came fairly low down in the social scale.¹ We see that there were types of labour which were despised; there were vocations which had a low reputation socially, but most of the citizens certainly did not regard sitting in court or going to the assembly in this light. Prejudices against, and aversion from, work have always existed, even more in the happy countries which border on the Mediterranean than in other regions. But there was no contempt for labour in general, especially not for manual labour; the reputation of most of the craftsmen stood much higher than that of the retail-trader. The upper and lower middle-classes had the same desire for money, and money could not be earned if they did not work. On such foundations the economic life of Athens as a whole was prospering and, time and again, overcame the vacillations and vicissitudes of an unstable world.

It is true that, because the democratic State needed a great number of men to keep public life and government going, ideas and feelings of the kind mentioned did actually find public support. From the time of Solon wise statesmen had tried to check them by the influence of law and custom, but they were only partly successful. Aristocratic traditions and popular indolence combined to hold labour in a certain contempt, until the middle classes began to take the lead in politics. This happened during the fifth century, and with it the reputation of labour rose. Afterwards there came a reaction, but one which was confined to a small circle, close and narrow in its social outlook, though in other respects it was most important. The fourth-century philosophers took a step backwards, and by creating ideal forms of the State, full of beauty and deeper meaning, they determined the general judgment on the Greeks down to the present day. With these philosophers the contempt for manual labour, partly resulting from their deliberate idealization of a Spartan kind of State, became

¹ W 712, E 310

the essential factor in a general programme of political and social life. In reality, however, the people never made the claim to a *dolce far niente*, however honourable and important that might be thought (nor would they have been allowed to).¹ The public payments were necessary both politically and economically, but their social effects, though they increased during the fourth century, have been much exaggerated by modern scholars. Charity in ancient Athens, though it may have begun at home, did not go very far. The children of those killed in war were provided for, and invalids got a small pension.² A typical figure is the invalid whom Lysias describes as making a living by some sort of retail-trade, 'a cheerful and witty cockney and possibly a rogue', a true comic character.³ He is the type of citizen who stakes out his claim to State support, but at the same time tries to earn his living by work of his own. In fact, the ordinary citizen with his desire and ability to earn his livelihood was a decisive factor in bridging the gulf between the citizen of old, who was chiefly a political being, and the demands of a new age, in which the State not only paid and fed part of its citizen body, but also depended on the economic activity of its citizens.

The ideal of the average little citizen of comedy is by no means the ideal of a laborious and hard-working life. Few Greeks, hardly Hesiod himself, had any conception of labour as a moral ideal and a moral programme, on the other hand, they did consider the will to earn money and make a fair profit justified, though they did not approve of certain methods used by fraudulent innkeepers and retailers. Labour in comedy is not a disgrace, but neither is it a thing to be desired; it is simply a necessity, and acknowledged as a necessity, both because of the eternal need for one's daily bread, and because audience as well as poet, even Aristophanes for all his conservatism, belonged and paid tribute to an age which, in an ever-increasing degree, was ruled by an economic attitude of mind.

Not even then, however, did economics overrule the moral

¹ Cf F Oertel, *Klassenkampf, Sozialismus und organischer Staat im alten Griechenland* (1942), 24

² An article by A A Esser on this subject (*Das Gymnasium*, LII, 1941) was inaccessible to me

³ Lysias XXIV. Quotation from Webster, *Greek Art and Literature*, 176. The man looks on himself as a kind of actor in a comedy (§18)

aspects of life. It was, in fact, the other way round. In the very plight of everyday life, and even among the lower classes, the ideal was not so much to become rich as to lead a good life, and it seemed the duty of the State to provide for this. That is why the number of those who were living on the State steadily increased. The ideal of a good life naturally varied according to social and individual circumstances. 'The Greeks never took kindly to wage-earning.'¹ One of the reasons for this was that they hated to be personally dependent on an employer, unless it was the State itself, that is to say, the body of citizens of which each one was a member. The wishful planning of man's good life culminated in the Utopian pictures of an ideal State, and even the philosophers realized that the community had to provide the economic foundations for such a life.

The true background of all this is the very nature of the Greeks, their vigour and vitality as well as their indolence and modesty, in short their immense capacity to live the 'good life', for which comedy is not the meanest witness. In a world of which they knew the sombre no less than the bright side the Greeks lived a full and intense life. It was not laborious nor always honest, and instead of serving the community the citizens had begun to live on it; but in their economic as well as in their political life they always tended to make the most of things.

¹ Sir A. Zimmern, *Solon and Croesus*, 159.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PEOPLE AND THE STATE

I

IN the previous chapters we have seen the people of Athens in the varied and manifold aspects of their life. Origin, social position, vocation, property, intellectual standing, religious beliefs and economic aims—these things created both the individual citizen and the divisions of the population. We must not, however, forget the unity which lies behind this variety, the co-ordinating forces behind those which divide. The people, in fact, were united in the State, a State whose sovereign power was vested in the people. This sovereignty, so far as the expression is justified, was naturally more apparent in politics than in economics. We are not concerned with questions of political institutions and constitutions, but the aspect of democracy as the rule of the sovereign people is also essential to our investigation. The people ruled, because a constitution, though unwritten and informal, had made it sovereign, and it therefore controlled legislation and executive. These are well-known facts, but they do not suffice for our purpose. We are seeking to discover the social basis and effects of Athenian politics, the social features of the democratic State.

Much of this has been mentioned before in connection with individual points which we need not recapitulate. Nor do we propose to discuss such questions as whether the name of democracy can rightly be applied to a State in which large and important parts of the population had no share in the rights of citizenship. What we have already said about metics and slaves should have made it clear that to put the question thus (and this is often done) is to miss the true nature of the Greek State. Let us repeat: the Athenian State was called neither 'the Republic of Athens' (like the *res publica Romana*) nor was it called 'Attica' (like a modern territorial State), but 'the Athenians'. The citizens, they and they alone, made up the State which was embodied in the person and idea of Demos, the people. The question of equality was therefore frequently discussed.

The democratic Polis was never fully able to answer the challenge of the conflict between the natural inequality of man and the pretended equality of its citizens.¹

We may remember the general and, so to speak, symbolic caricatures of the people, given in the figure of the old, doddering master of the *Knights*² or in the mad passion for administering justice in the *Wasps*, a passion declared to be an essential and typical feature of the citizen body. We recall these things, not in order to emphasize their reality, but to make clear, once again, the broadmindedness of the Athenians in allowing themselves to be mocked and derided. Dionysos looks for parricides and perjurers among the spectators, the Just Logos sees there only paederasts.³ The comic poet, just as he often praises too generously, often blames too severely, but always attacks actual faults. On the whole, as we have seen, there is reflected, even in caricature, the real people both in its best and in its worst qualities. This people of sunburnt men, though their vitality and energy were certainly unique, were infected with widespread social diseases, diseases such as the love of gambling, drunkenness and parasitism, or delight, whether in the market-place or in the barber's shop, in gossip and idle chatter, and many others.⁴ There were diseases in the political sphere as well.

The comic poets satirize various vices and absurdities in democracy, for instance the honorary decrees, by moving which many citizens sought to win the favour of persons or groups of importance, or the people's passion for change and for the indiscriminate passing of laws: the *nomoi* 'resembled those filmy webs that the spider spins on the walls', and they changed so frequently that after three months one could no longer recognize them.⁵ It was usual for the assembly to make its decisions and to cancel them again instantly.⁶ Stupid accusations were piled up against such selfless and blameless politicians as Nikias and his like.⁷ Naturally, there was very little feeling that an official was someone superior. We need only

¹ Typical discussions, e.g., in Eur. *Hek* 306ff, *Hik* 406ff, 410ff, 433ff, *Phoin.* 501f, 535ff, *frag* 1048.

² See especially K 40ff.

³ F.274ff, C.1096ff.

⁴ E 63f, cf. Thuc. I, 70 — Diseases W 71ff — Gossip Th 578 — B 300, 1439ff, Plat. 135.

⁵ K 267f — E 577ff, 586f — Plat. 22, 220.

⁶ E 797f

⁷ Eupolis 181, Telekleid. 41, Plat. 185

think of Dikaiopolis' contempt for the prytanes; they like other officials were nominated by lot, 'the child of chance', and were ordinary fellow citizens, though they themselves might be pompous men feeling superior to the people.¹ To the comedians even the position of those elected to their offices did not amount to much; in the complex process of election the nomination and rejection could follow one another, though sometimes lead to the election of the original candidates.² Of the election of the higher officers, above all the *strategoi*, but also the *hipparchoi* and *taxiarchoi*, especially in war-time one of the most important events in the democracy, the comedian says 'three cuckoos have elected Lamachos', he was at that time probably a taxiarch, but be that as it may, it is clear that both Lamachos and the election were equally derided.³ Frequently comedy makes fun of the general mistrust shown by democracy towards officials whom the people had themselves elected, or of the citizens' fear of tyranny and conspiracy: 'How you see in everything tyranny and conspirators, when somebody brings in a charge whether large or small' I had not heard that word ['tyranny'] for the last fifty years; now it has become much more common than salt fish.⁴ In comedy a prize could even be offered for the killing of dead tyrants, and people had to suffer for the alleged sins of their ancestors.⁵ The comedians ridiculed the outdated hatred of tyranny, which in all debates about State and constitution still took a central position, in tragedy we find the problem discussed repeatedly and seriously.⁶ The privilege of comedy was to see, and to laugh at, the weaknesses of the idolized democracy. We should, for example, like to know whether the comedian who called ostracism 'a whip of potter's clay' wished to characterize it as an efficient and dangerous weapon or one which had been blunted; the latter is more likely, as it gives the phrase a comic double-meaning.⁷ All the helplessness of democracy, even of the more moderate type, is depicted in the character of the *proboulos*,

¹ A 23ff, 40ff — Eur. *frag* 989 — *Andr* 699f

² Archipp 14

³ A.598

⁴ W 487ff. Other relevant passages K.257, 452, 475ff, W.345, 417, 463ff, 498, 506f, 953, B 1583ff, L 616ff. See also above, p 110

⁵ B 1074ff — K.445ff

⁶ To mention a few outstanding examples from Euripides. *Med* 119ff, *Herakl* 423f, *Hik* 403ff, 410ff, 429ff, *Tro* 424ff, *Phoin* 499ff, 528ff

⁷ adesp 33

whose mind works on the old traditional lines and who is entirely at a loss in an unexpected situation.¹

The impression, however, that comedy attacks democracy is misleading as it would be misleading in the case of Thucydides. He puts into the mouth of the democratic demagogue Kleon what may be called his sharpest criticism of Perikles' ideal picture of the working of democracy.² With Perikles, at least between 446 and 431, success had succeeded; afterwards things were very different. It is only natural that many Athenians, after they had lost Perikles' leadership, realized that democracy was lacking in efficiency, particularly during the war.³ Neither Euripides who was a loyal democrat as far as he at all adhered to any party views, nor Thucydides who admired Perikles and hated Kleon, but equally despised the revolutionaries of 411, were oligarchs. It was, as we have emphasized before, in the very nature of political comedy to be 'against the government', but not one of the comic poets, as far as we know, was a mere party man, not one of them belonged to the 'oligarchs' as did, for instance, the author of that frequently mentioned pamphlet known as the Pseudo-Xenophon.⁴ Kratinos attacked even the 'tyranny' of Perikles

¹ L 403ff Cf. Thuc VIII, 1, 3 Arist *Ath. pol* 29, 2, 5

² Thuc III, 37

³ Cf Eur *Andr.* 479ff

⁴ Are we justified in speaking of political parties at Athens? Certainly not in the modern sense of organizations which demand membership and the like. Since Themistokles, by the creation of the fleet, had introduced the lower classes into politics, the division had grown between those who favoured a gradual restriction of political rights, and those who pleaded for complete equality and thus for the rule of the many. There were, after all, 'oligarchs' and what we call 'democrats', both of them 'parties' in the political, though not in any legal, sense. A surprising example of what seems to be the outcome of organized party politics has been provided by the discovery of 'prefabricated' ostraka which were probably to be distributed among the voters (O Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, 228ff). They all bear the name of Themistokles, and the device must be therefore due to his opponents. The date, of course, is not certain, but the 'seventies are a likely guess. It seems that these ostraka were never actually used, thus they were probably left over from an ostracism which may have been the one by which Themistokles was banned, or even an earlier one (Prof Gomme has convinced me that I was too definite on this in *AJP* LXIX, 162). It is a puzzling story which we cannot fully disentangle; but behind it, there must have been some form of organization, if not a party, at least a *hetairia*. The concentration of the ecclesiasts by Thukydides, son of Melesias, however, was clearly the result of organized party-politics, and Plut *Per* 11 dates from that event — very late indeed — the full division into political parties. Cf also Wade-Gery, *JHS* LII (1932), 208

in the name of democracy.¹ In his *Nomoi* the chorus of the Laws appear as old and decrepit men; it seems that Kratinos tried to preach a return to the neglected laws of Drakon and Solon.² The lordly Poseidon, horrified at the way in which the Triballian god wears his coat, laments: 'O democracy, where do you lead us in the end, if the gods have elected such a dolt!'³ The satire is aimed at the aristocratic opponent of democracy as much as at democracy itself and its methods of election.

These various attacks are of an incidental kind. The main offensive is launched against the demagogues, 'who swear upon the speaker's stone', those 'sellers' of low origin who break with the old traditions — Eukrates, Lysikles, Kleon, and their like.⁴ They are the terror equally of rich and poor.⁵ Until their old age they are led on by the desire for public money.⁶ According to the view of comedy, which is put most vigorously and impressively in the *Birds*, the social change in the leadership of the State involved a change in the moral meaning of all service to the State. The chief aim, therefore, of all the political attacks in comedy is in essence unpolitical, the securing of a clean public life.

The public legal payments, which we have mentioned frequently and which we know to have been a heavy burden on the finances of the State, might have proved a means of reducing the illegal attempts to make money out of the State. But we get the impression that this was not so. Too many citizens were dissatisfied with the modest earnings represented by the juror's fees, the *diobelia* and the *theorikon*, or later by the payment of officials and ecclesiasts. All these payments and also the distribution of corn were for all but those who were quite destitute, that is, for the majority of the citizens, merely an additional source of income. They tried to make money from the State by other means, and there were the most varied ways of doing so. Many citizens registered at court under several 'letters' — that is to say, with different sections indicated by letters — in order to sit in more than one court during the day and thus to get more than a normal one day's payment, or at least to be sure of it if a particular

¹ Kratinos 240, 38 P a, 18f

² B 1570f

³ K 223f

⁴ Kratinos 127, cf 274

⁵ adesp 667 — K 129 ff

⁶ adesp 11

section did not sit.¹ Even men suffering from fever or illness went to court, though they were certainly not really fit to act.² We have referred to the importance of the meals which followed public sacrifices; meat was scarce and expensive, so the meat of the victims was much in demand.³ Even the public meals in the prytaneion, formerly a rarely awarded honour, came to have an economic value which many a man made the most of, and might even sell or buy; the same is said of the proedria, though in both cases there may be some comic exaggeration.⁴ Anyhow, times had changed since the days when nobody made money from public service and everybody brought his modest portion of food and drink with him.⁵ Now the citizens lived on the public treasure which lay in Athena's temple, and from which the various fees were paid; public money served private gain.⁶ The thing to do was not to give but to take, a maxim which in the years after 400 could even be regarded as traditional and 'deriving from our fathers'.⁷ It remains, however, doubtful (we have mentioned this before and shall mention it again) how many of the citizens were, in fact, guilty of such practices, though it is clear that, whatever their number, many of those who were unwilling to work for their living were no longer the old easy-going type of citizens, but men whose chief aim was to make money.

The democracy, as we have seen, sometimes paid out official fees which were on a higher scale than the ordinary payments, but in many cases legal and illegal methods were hard to distinguish. Thus ambassadors received substantial travelling allowances, and might be in no hurry to get home, moreover they might be bribed by the Persian king.⁸ Certain offices, high or low, afforded ample opportunity for private profit — for instance, the post of inspector (*episkopos*) of the allies, or that of contractor for providing supplies for the troops, or that of a customs official.⁹ Competition for a lucrative office could

¹ Pl 1166f² W 813³ Cf K. 410, 655ff, W 654, above, p 258f

⁴ K 280ff, 575f. — An early example is an epigram against Xanthippos found on an ostrakon and convincingly explained by O. Broneer, *Am Journ Arch* LII (1948), 341ff. Xanthippos is denounced as 'an accursed cheat who did violence to the Prytaneion', apparently because he misused the privilege of having free meals at the expense of the State.

⁵ E 303ff⁶ L 624f. — E 206f.⁷ E 778f⁸ A. 53, 65ff, 192, 600ff, W 1271ff — Plat 119⁹ B 1111f, Kratinos 38 P, 32 — B 1021ff, W 556f, K 248, F 362ff

Informing went hand in hand with false testimony, bribery and blackmail no less than the embezzlement of public funds.¹ The sycophant was 'a happy compound of the common barrator, informer, pettifogger, busybody, rogue, liar and slanderer'.² Naturally he had to thrust his nose into everybody's business, he was a parasite and busybody (*polypragmon*) of the worst kind.³ The peasant's ideal of a quiet and unlaborious life, certainly not a very high ideal, is in the sycophant's opinion equivalent to living like cattle.⁴ War increased the sycophant's chances. Then he tried to impute to every possible individual, especially to foreigners, relations with the enemy, and he invented the most fantastic tales, which he used for blackmail.⁵ So the profession became lucrative, an easier method than work.⁶ Doro, 'my Lady Bribery of the fig-sandals', and other heroines of similar type, such as Dexo, were invented as the special deities of the sycophants.⁷

During the war and even more so afterwards, but, in fact, ever since the internal rivalry between the democrats and oligarchs had been intensified, these men came to be a real plague.⁸ Their number must have been considerable. A picture of the scandalous activities of such a 'prosecutor' is given by Andokides in his speech on the mysteries.⁹ Another well-known case was that of Nikias' brother whom persecution by the sycophants drove into voluntary exile.¹⁰ The sycophants were frequently young men, and the profession could be hereditary in a family.¹¹ The comedians attack men of this type in the strongest possible terms. they are scorpions and monsters such as appear in nightmares.¹² The *agoranomoi* are to expel these rogues from the market-place, which was a step hardly possible except in comedy, nevertheless the suggestion is significant.¹³ Action by the State against the sycophants was

¹ E 561f, Telekl 41, cf Isokr XVIII, 9f — frg 40, 219, Plat 14, Metagenes 11, cf. Antiphon VI, 43.

² H Hager in Smith, *Dict of Greek and Roman Antiqu* 3, s sycophantes

³ B.285 — W.1040f, Pl 906ff, 913, Kratnos 27 D = adesph 841. The subject is treated more extensively in *JHS*. LXVII (1947), especially 54ff

⁴ Pl 921f.

⁵ A 818ff, 910ff, 920ff, K.278f, B 1431

⁶ Pl 30f, cf. Xen *mem* II, 9, 5; 8

⁷ Kratnos 69, cf K 529 — Kratnos 401

⁸ Lysias XXV, 19, VII, 1. — adesph 615

¹⁰ Lysias XVIII, 9

¹² Eupolis 231, W 1036ff

⁹ Andok I

¹¹ B 1431, 1452

¹³ A 723ff, 824f

essential. Lucky were those countries in which such people did not exist, but at a later date the poet has to admit that all Greeks suffered from this plague.¹

In a State in which there was no permanent public prosecutor² it was the necessary and proper duty of every citizen to guard the public interest by going to law. In a sense the sycophants were inevitable. But since the majority of the prosecutors were unscrupulous informers rather than honest and patriotic citizens, the whole thing became an evil, tolerated indeed, but therefore still more dangerous. The sycophant always pretended to be a 'public benefactor', a servant of the people and a patriot.³ It might often have been difficult to distinguish between truth and falsehood. The great part played by sycophants was by no means entirely due to their own lack of morals; it was caused by defects in the general political conditions. The frequently described distrust by democracy of its own citizens contrasted strangely, and was in fact inconsistent, with the freedom which the State allowed the individual citizen and which in an age of 'enlightenment' and dissolution might easily become complete lack of restraint and discipline. No less important was the growing economic and social tension, and the increasing predominance of the economic factor. The poor became aggressive. Insecurity of life and property, brawls and robberies in the streets — all this a legacy of the war and the rule of the Thirty — were a common feature.⁴ Plundering the rich became not only the purpose of avaricious individuals; to offer the chance of it to the masses in court and assembly was a favourite item in the demagogues' domestic policy, and the sycophants were the middlemen who by false denunciations provided the victims. The soil was prepared in which the weed grew and flourished. The whole situation is reflected in a significant, though somewhat complex, metaphor:⁵ when one day rich and poor wash each other in the public baths (that is to say, support and help each other instead of thinking each of himself only), on that day no one will any longer need those sponges, soaked full, as it were, with the property of others, and thrusting themselves between the classes and groups of the people.

Sycophantism would never have grown so rank, if the

¹ A 904f — Pl 877ff

² Cf. Pl. 916ff

³ Pl 899ff

⁴ See above, p. 242, and *Lysias* III

⁵ frg. 55

Athenian courts had not been open to every kind of personal influence, and if they had not been of such an overwhelming general importance. 'Litigation was the handmaiden of politics'.¹ Athens was not Athens if no jurymen were seen in session.² In the country alone the 'seedlings of non-heliasts' might still be found.³ The courts were a kind of spectacle where men scrambled for the best seats.⁴ The demoralization of jurymen and prosecutors, of heliasts and sycophants, was inter-dependent. One of the chief reasons for this demoralization was the fact that so many of the poor, especially old men, sat in court.⁵ It led to the worst results that they took the greatest delight in exercising their wide powers, and at the same time were compelled to try to make some extra money.⁶ Chiefly for this reason the old men liked 'to bite with the voting stone', and ordinary citizens became 'stinging swarms of wasps'.⁷ Sometimes they would listen to a recital by an acquitted flute-player or actor, but on the whole they brought along the necessary 'ration' of anger, and were cruel and keen to persecute.⁸ The allies were made to suffer even more than others, and their dependence gave Athenian jurymen the feeling of 'rule over Hellas'⁹ — naturally enough, for the courts to which the allies had to bring their cases provided opportunities for interference in their internal affairs and, above all, for an exercise of power in various ways over the subject States of the empire.¹⁰ Many unjust verdicts were given for the sake of shameful gain.¹¹ The 'bazaar of lawsuits', the only office not compelled to render accounts, damaged law and justice to such an extent that more and more they became, as it were, objects of business transactions.¹²

What is true of the jurymen is also true of the parties to a suit. The Athenians 'were the best of all Greeks in depositing

¹ Bonner and Smith, *loc. cit.*, 43

² C 207f

³ B 109ff, *adesp.* 382.

⁴ W 89f.

⁵ K 1359f, W 195, 223f, 303ff, 540f, 551, 813, L 380. The meaning of *frg.* 210 is obscure

⁶ e.g., W 552ff, *Ps.-Xen.* I, 18.

⁷ A 375f, W 1102ff

⁸ W-579ff — W-242f — K 347, 367, 443f, W *passim.*

⁹ W 577

¹⁰ See above, p 157f, and Gomme, *Hist. Comm.* I, 242

¹¹ Kratinos 19 D

¹² δειγμα τῶν δικῶν, K.979 — In W 587 the position of a jurymen is called ἀρχή as often — with greater justification — the membership of the βουλή, it was not an ἀρχή in the strict sense of the word

the *parastasis*, that is the drachma which the litigants had to pay at the beginning of the pleading.¹ The spirit of Athenian litigation is depicted in many passages of comedy. 'If you accuse an unjust man, twelve parasites will bear witness for the opposite party.'² If a man had been thrashed, he took a witness, who of course had not been present at the incident, and sued for damages.³ In some cases, for example when a search for stolen goods was made or when an adulterer was caught red-handed, a man could take the law into his own hands;⁴ but generally he either went to court or used the opportunity to make some money by blackmail. One lawsuit followed another, and the comedian who warned the citizens and especially the sycophants 'to stop the suits that were eating one another' was more than justified.⁵

These are some of the characteristic methods, most of them well known, by which democracy was exploited by the citizens. Political life apparently depended to a large extent on economic needs and purposes, but its faults were of its own making, too.

2

When Lamachos has to put up with almost too much heckling from Dikaiopolis because of his payment, he exclaims:⁶ 'O democracy, can this be borne?' In fact, being an officer, he is entitled to his pay, but his antagonist is the ordinary citizen who envies the officers and ambassadors their higher incomes, even though it is legal, as well as their other advantages.⁷ Lamachos, though hardly a convinced democrat, appeals to the principles of democracy. One of these principles at that time was that every citizen should be entitled and able to live on the State. A generation later thirty thousand citizens will receive 'their meals' from Praxagora's State, a number, most probably, roughly equal to the actual number of citizens,⁸ and so of course not the same as the number of those who lived chiefly on the State. The number of these, though much smaller, was still considerable, and the dangers and

¹ adesp. 778² frg 437.³ C 495f⁴ C 499, 1083⁵ Telekl 2⁶ A 618⁷ A.607ff, cf above, p 229, n 6⁸ E 1132f. Cf Ehrenberg, *Der griech u der hellenist Staat* (Gercke u Norden, III), 17 Gomme, *The Population of Athens*, 26.

weaknesses of such a system are obvious and have often been described. The true facts, however, do not correspond with the view usually held, and we must realize that comedy like other sources tends to give us only one side of the picture. Not one of the important poets or writers of the time came forward to defend the post-Periclean democracy. Even the rejuvenated and glorified Demos in the closing scenes of the *Knights*, though interesting especially as an anticipation of the actual cult of Demos,¹ has no political significance except for the desire to get 'back to the good old times',² and he is only one of many to testify to the general tendency, often expressed in comedy, to look back longingly for a better State and better statesmen. Euripides when he praises his mythical democracy of the days of Theseus or his son, is a weak advocate against such powerful and hostile critics as Thucydides and Aristophanes, to say nothing of Plato.³

Nevertheless, even allowing for this bias in our evidence, we cannot go so far as to deny the general decline of Athenian politics. Obviously, good reasons lie behind the verdict of those writers. If in some respects the usual view may perhaps be corrected, it can only be done by emphasizing those factors which in part compensated for the decline of politics by an improvement in other matters. The improvement in the economic conditions was noted in the last chapter.

The change in the political situation was chiefly due to a change within a few decades in the political attitude of the people. At one time Athens had been proud of having set up the demos as ruler in every State, and the Athenian demos being the 'monarch' of all Greece, the Attic juryman felt that he held a truly 'kingly' position or *basileia*, which is the name of the divine wife of Peithetairos.⁴ In her was embodied the whole scheme of government and politics, both conservative and democratic: she protected all the good elements in political life, 'good counsel' and 'good laws', as well as 'the dockyards, public abuse, the fiscal officials and the public payments'.⁵ The decline of political power, on the other hand, the detach-

¹ Cf. H. Klemknecht, *Hermes* 74 (1939), 58ff.

² K 1387, cf. 1325ff.

³ e.g., Eur. *Herakl.* 389ff, *Hik.* 403ff, 429ff.

⁴ A 642, K 1330 — W 546, 549 — B 1634, 1687, 1730, 1753.

⁵ B 1538ff.

ment of the individual from traditional bonds, the growing importance of the economic factor — all these weakened the public-spiritedness and the political will of the people. 'Any country in which a man gets on well is his fatherland':¹ the attitude here expressed spread and gradually undermined the citizen's normal, and still predominant, attachment to his State.

The general development found, as a matter of course, its strongest expression in the assembly where the people exercised their political rights most clearly, and where the overwhelming power of the people in controlling market, harbours, and *pnux* rendered politically impotent the council, the strategoi, and those prominent citizens who were honoured in the *prytaneion*.² But the sheep were not always prepared to follow their bell-wether and to fill the seats in the assembly; only the *prytanes* might compete for the best seats.³ The people, instead of going to the *pnux*, preferred to loiter in the marketplace where the latest news was to be heard and where most of them had their business. The harsh barrack-yard voice of the herald was displeasing, and the purpose of the 'red rope', to drive the people into the assembly, was rarely achieved.⁴ Not before payment of the ecclesiasts was introduced, and subsequently increased from one to three obols a day, did the mass of the people rush again to the assembly, which then once more became a noisy and tumultuous crowd.⁵ It could be said of the assembly no less than of the Persian king that it existed 'thanks only to money'.⁶

The fundamental and precious principle of the democratic assembly was *parrhesia* or *isegoria*, free and equal right of speech.⁷ It was the foundation of that Golden Age which Eupolis ironically found realized under the rule of Kleon.⁸ It was a commonplace to see the combination of freedom and *parrhesia* as the true symbol of Athens.⁹ And yet, people's opinions on the value of free speech differed. While some regarded it as 'the most sensible adviser', others thought that

¹ Pl 1151, cf frg 58 D. See above, p 147.

² K 164ff

³ W 31ff — A 19ff, 25f, 40ff

⁴ A.54, and elsewhere — A 22, E 378, Plat 6 D

⁵ E 183ff, 289ff, 380ff, Pl 329f — E 519, adesp 45 D

⁶ Pl 170f

⁷ Th 540f, Eupolis 291

⁸ Eupolis 276ff, in particular 290-2

⁹ Eur. *Hipp* 421ff, *Herakl* 62, 113, 181f, *Hek* 438ff, *Ion* 670ff, frg 737.

it gave to every *poneros* a chance to speak, even to an uneducated foreigner or half-foreigner who had become a citizen.¹ The implications of comedy as well as tragedy are that this meant the 'common' man not only in a social, but also in a moral sense.

Such views are, of course, biased, and to arrive at the truth we must see how the principle of *parrhesia* worked in practice. As a rule the people 'listened with open mouth' to whoever spoke, 'gaping up exactly like roasting shell-fish on the coals'.² The ordinary citizen had no opinion of his own, but followed those pronounced by the speakers, and probably often the one proclaimed last.³ The great majority of the people did not use their right of free speech, as we have said before, and this is especially true of the peasants. In general only a few of the better orators rose to speak, usually one 'who hung about the town and was skilled in speech'.⁴ The *agon* of the women to find out which of them was the best speaker⁵ is a reflection of the fact that it was usually only the better speakers who presented their views in the assembly, and the best speaker is he whose motions are most frequently passed.⁶ Oratory was quickly becoming an art, and people began to realize its advantages, to know something of its technique and to enjoy a clever 'battle of words'.⁷ The Greeks had always done so, but now they had become something like experts. The people crowded to the place where the speakers could be heard well, and liked to discuss the good points of a speech: the speaker might be said to have spoken very strongly, to have tested all methods, weighed everything and wisely discovered clever and well-chosen arguments.⁸ Applause and interruptions were frequent in the assembly, certainly often organized by one or the other of the political factions.⁹ Although the principle of

¹ adesp 355-6 — K 335f — Eur *Or* 902ff

² K 752ff, 1118ff, P 635, frg 68

³ adesp 12 (b) D = 45 P (a)

⁴ Eur *Ba* 717

⁵ Th 305ff, cf E 130ff

⁶ C 430ff

⁷ ἀμιλλα (or ἀγων) λόγων, e.g., Eur *Med* 546, *Andr* 234, *Hik* 427f, 465, *Tro* 907, *Phoin.* 588, frg 189

⁸ Th 292f, E.86f, 588f. — Th 434ff

⁹ Cf A 37ff, and the whole behaviour of Dikaiopolis in the assembly, K 651, 666, E 213, 399ff, 431ff — Many of the passages in the text refer to the women at the Thesmophoria, but their assembly — and even more so the dress-rehearsal in the *Ekklesiastousai* — are explicitly copies of the real thing, the Athenian ἐκκλησία (Th 277, 301, 328)

free speech was always upheld, *païrhesia* was largely confined to the 'orators'

It is evident that the term 'the orators', who were usually identical with those who proposed motions in the assembly, became a fixed expression, indicating a definite group of people.¹ They stood under the protection of Zeus Agoraios, and were thought of as rivals in some sort of competition the victor in which was rewarded with a wreath.² In Euripides' *Hekabe* even the sons of Theseus appear as 'orators of opposing speeches', debating the sacrifice of Polyxena.³ Because of such competition the orator could be compared to a runner or a racing horse; the orators started from the same starting-line, and the mass of the people were simply spectators.⁴ Kleon's reproof of the assembly is characteristic. 'In a word, you are in thrall to the pleasures of the ear, and sit like an audience attending a performance of sophists, but very unlike counsellors of the State'.⁵ It is most significant that Thucydides puts these words into the mouth of the despised Kleon. It not only proves that Kleon did, in fact, use such words, it also goes to prove the insight of both historian and politician and supports the truth of the observation they make. We find the same idea in a phrase of one of the comedians, who calls the Athenians, the people famous for Athena's owls, 'eared owls, they alone among the Greeks'.⁶ In another fragment⁷ we are told that people accepted a bad proposal because they believed the speaker of the moment; later, when some new experience taught them better, they blamed the assembly of which they had been members themselves.

The Greeks realized to the full the power of oratory and the dangers of persuasion by mere words. Of all skill and learning it was *Peitho*, or Persuasion, alone that was 'a tyrant for men'; 'there is no other temple of Peitho than speech, and her altar is in man's nature'.⁸ Good orators naturally acquired

¹ K 1350, cf. Lysias XII, 72 — A 38, K 425, Th 382, E 244 frg. 198, 4, Eupolis 94, 3; cf. Thuc VIII, 1, 1.

² K 499f — A 626, K 501f. The award of a wreath is perhaps only an allusion to the fact that every citizen wore a wreath when he spoke, B.463, Th 380, E 131, 148, 163, 171, Eupolis 21 D.

³ Δισσῶν μύθων ῥήτορες, Eur. *Hek.* 124ff.

⁴ C.430, Eupolis 94. — ἀπὸ βολβίδων, K.1159, W.548

⁵ Thuc III, 38, 7.

⁶ adesp 47.

⁷ adesp 12(b) D = 45P(a).

⁸ Eur *Hek* 814ff, frg. 170

great influence over the people, as Perikles did who, it is said, 'carried a thunderbolt in his tongue' and outpaced all other speakers by many lengths.¹ He lived on in public memory as the orator even more clearly than as the statesman and active politician.² 'Is there any other orator worth mentioning?' is a question asked in Eupolis' *Demoi*.³ The critics saw him from the same angle when the construction of the Long Walls proceeded only slowly, Perikles was said 'to be carrying on with words, but not to be moving anything by deeds'.⁴ The 'fiery' Kleon also was a vigorous speaker, he could be compared to a storm, the fire-spitting Typhon, the hell-hound Kerberos or a scalded pig — all that because of his loud and unpleasant voice and his excited behaviour.⁵ Similar descriptions are given of other demagogues.⁶ The more uneducated and rustic the assembly, the more easily was it a prey to blandishment and flattery, and the less able to contest any of the speakers' arguments.⁷ The 'orators' were responsible for the motions accepted by the assembly, and they could be regarded as standing on a level with the officials who propounded new laws, the *nomothetai*.⁸ In the decree on Brea penalties to protect its contents against alterations are imposed on anybody (that is to say any official) who puts to the vote a motion against the decree, and on any *rhetor* who speaks against it or tries to induce others to alter it.⁹ The fact that there were many speakers and that many views could be put forward, provided, it is true, a certain control. Nevertheless it was considered especially bad that the orators continually sprang up like the heads of the Hydra.¹⁰ The proverb that under every stone a scorpion might be hidden was used of the orators.¹¹ There are many examples in Euripides of denunciation of orators and demagogues as a bad lot.¹² Odysseus in particular becomes a

¹ adesp. 10, Eupolis 94

² Cf. Kratinos 293, 20 D (= adesp. 37), Hermipp. 46, Eupolis 94

³ Eupolis 96

⁴ Kratinos 300

⁵ Hermipp. 46 — K 256, 274f, 285ff, 304, 430f, 511, 626ff, 1030, P 313ff, Plat. 216 — K 137, 218, 311, 487, 1018, W 36, 596, 1034, P 757, frg. 636, Kratinos 186, Pherekr. 51 — Thuc. III, 36, 6

⁶ K. 956, P 637, Eupolis 207, cf. also Eur. frg. 597

⁷ A. 370ff, 636ff, K 1340ff, cf. Thuc. III, 37, 4f

⁸ Lysias XXXI, 27

⁹ IG. I², 45 (= Tod, 44 Syll³, 67), 20ff

¹⁰ Plat. 186

¹¹ Th. 528ff

¹² e.g. Med. 582, Hek. 251ff, Iph. A. 337ff, Ba. 270f

dence of comedy Hyperbolos, for instance, boasts that he has learned a lot in the barbers' shops, 'sitting there unsuspected and pretending not to understand'.¹ The lack of tradition among the new middle-class leaders was something of an outrage. The Paphlagonian ruled the house of Demos though he had only recently been bought.² Another demagogue has compromised the *hetairiai*, the political clubs, since he had no *phraters* and did not speak pure Attic.³ This is an allusion to the foreigners who had received citizenship. They as well as other orators might be promoted chiefly because of their ability and insolence, which were characteristic features of the whole type.⁴

The orators opposed the ruling politician who, though himself hardly better than they, had to drive them away from the demos like flies.⁵ It seems hard to discover the exact point at which the average orator is to be distinguished from those who grew into demagogues and statesmen. The man who is 'master of the stone on the pnyx', that is the stone step from which the orators addressed the assembly, is, in fact, the *prostates*, the 'leader' of the State or of the Demos, the man in whom the 'people', that is in democracy the masses of the assembly, have full confidence.⁶ Kleon was, in the opinion of his enemies, only the most powerful and most evil of the orators, one who always prided himself greatly on his power of rhetoric.⁷ But there was a difference between orator and *prostates*. In war-time the contrast between *prostates* and *strategoí* might be even more obvious; the expression for accusing the generals, as a rule unjustly, became proverbial.⁸ Generally, however, the *prostates* had to deal with the orators.⁹ He had (and this is often forgotten by hostile comedy and by his other enemies) to be more than an unscrupulous dema-

¹ Eupolis 180.

² K 2

³ Eupolis 40 P, 21ff

⁴ K 425f. See above, p 160f

⁵ K 59f.

⁶ P 680, 684. — I believe that the strict distinction between *προστάτης* τῆς πόλεως and π. τοῦ δήμου, as recommended by O Reverdin, *Museum Helveticum*, II (1945), 201ff, is too legalistic, at least for the fifth century. But he stresses rightly that 'c'est autour des hommes politiques, plutôt qu'autour des idées abstraites et de programmes généraux', that the assembly usually decided.

⁷ K 344ff.

⁸ K.355. — διαβάλλειν τοὺς στρατηγούς, K.288, cf Thuc IV, 27, 4, V, 16, 1

⁹ K 59f, 358

gogue, he was bound to take a much higher view than the rest of the irresponsible crowd of orators. This is obvious in the case of Perikles, to whose discretion everything was left: 'the tribute of the cities and the cities themselves, to be bound or unleashed, the walls of stone, to be built or cast down again; treaties, power, dominion, peace, wealth and happiness'.¹ Again and again Perikles is called king, tyrant, Zeus, and his domineering power becomes the target of grim attacks as well as of good-natured jokes.² The later *prostatai*, on the other hand, were largely the heirs of Perikles. It comes perhaps from a saying of Kleon himself that he is ridiculed as a sort of Helios who sees everything.³ A comparison between the speeches of Perikles and Kleon, as Thucydides records them, makes it very clear how strongly the later man tried to follow his great predecessor. This argument is the more convincing since Thucydides with equal strength of feeling admires Perikles and hates Kleon.

If we see the Paphlagonian and the sausage-seller as the poet wishes us to see them, that is as caricatures of real statesmen, the extraordinary power and importance of the *prostatai* can easily be deduced. It is significant that his position is described with old-fashioned and high-sounding names like *tagos* and *archelas*, or that he is called simply 'the great' or 'the greatest man'.⁴ He is the man who almost alone looks after the whole of Athenian trade, ruling like Poseidon, as the 'greatest of the Greeks', over a seabound empire.⁵ Everything is full of Kleon's boldness and insolence: country and assembly, offices and courts and archives, in a word, the whole State.⁶ He is seen surrounded by loathsome sycophants, cheating and controlling the people by means of oracles and many other tricks.⁷ It may not be easy to decide whether it is really true that the rich and stupid were exploited by Kleon, or whether on the contrary, at least part of the people were clever enough to use and exploit the dishonest *prostatai*.⁸ In any case, behind

¹ Telekl. 42

² A 53of, Kratinos 56, 71, 111, 240, 241, 38 P, 15ff (cf *ASP* LXVI, 1945, 120, note 23), Telekl 17, Hermipp 41, 46, adesp. 60

³ K 74f, 862f, cf Eupolis 290.

⁴ K 159, 164, 178, 180

⁵ K 176, 837ff

⁶ K 304ff

⁷ W 1033

⁸ K 261ff. The persecution of the wealthy Laches (W 24of) was perhaps Kleon's work. — K 1121ff, cf. Pl 920.

these attacks on, and jokes about, Kleon and his life, just as behind the half-admiring denunciations we have mentioned of Perikles' activities, lies the reality of the powerful position of the leader of the State

We can detect somewhat similar features of the *prostates* in Euripides. His democratic mythical kings are frequently examples of ideal 'leaders of the people'.¹ One man with full power provides a better government than a crowd of clever men.² On the other hand, Euripides, too, saw the danger of bad leaders, particularly in democracy 'Terrible are the many if they have evil leaders.'³

Demos, though often considered a tyrant, was, in fact, easily led, especially by flattery.⁴ In choosing a leader it was necessary to find the man best capable of serving 'Demos and his belly', the 'first man', the 'best man', who could become the saviour of the State and its citizens.⁵ Throughout the main part of the fifth century the *prostates* was always a *strategos*, and Kleon, too, was finally elected to that office. The leader was an official, and thus would have to give an account of his administration. It is surprising and probably a result of the poet's conservative attitude, that even after 400 the leader of the women's government, who certainly had no military functions, had the title of *strategos*, either in the masculine or the feminine form.⁶ Ever since the rule of such leaders as Hyperbolos and Kleophon, the leader of the State normally held no office. The exceptions (apart from Anytos) prove the rule. Men like Thrasyboulos and Phokion were primarily generals, and became statesmen in exceptional circumstances. Other generals always remained soldiers, as for example Konon and Timotheos; other politicians who occasionally became *strategoi* did their important political work when they were not in office (Agyrrhios, Kallistratos). The statement remains true that usually at that time the political leader had no legal responsibility.

To be an orator had then become a real profession; that would have been impossible without the training and teaching in rhetoric, given by the sophists, which all the time became

¹ Cf Theseus in the *Hiketides*, also *Herakl* 206, 826.

² Eur *Andr* 479ff

³ Eur *Or.* 772

⁴ K. 1098ff, III If

⁵ K 1207f, 327, 457ff.

⁶ E 491f, 727, 835, 870, cf Pherekr 235, adesp 552.

more subtle and more effective. Rhetoric had become the chief or even the only way of preparation for political life, and there were soon no politicians left other than the orators. It was only human that the political leaders, who had no longer any formal and legal responsibility, often lost all real and personal responsibility as well. The great and hard task of ruling a highly emotional and fickle people had become even greater and harder since it proved so easy to sway public opinion by clever oratory. The temptation was strong to take that leadership to be not so much the uphill work of public service as an easy means for personal ends. Individualism became predominant, above all on the highest level. This is one of the main reasons for the inner decline of Athenian democracy.

There is a further interesting point to be noted. The *prostates* gave to comedy its only chance of describing a 'great man'. Neither the Sokrates of the *Clouds* nor the witty Euripides of the *Thesmophoriazousai* deserve this name, nor even Aischylos in the *Frogs*. And the so-called heroes of many comedies, such as Dikaiopolis, Strepsiades, Trygaios, Chremylos, are not heroes at all, they are unheroic common citizens and insignificant people. That remains true in spite of their part in the plays as, for example, when the chorus maintains that Good Fate has made Trygaios their absolute master.¹ Aristophanes was no hero-worshipper, even if he depicted great men (or women) as he did in three characters of the extant plays: Peithetairos, the ingenious founder of the birds' city, Lysistrate who secures general peace, and Praxagora, the foundress of the communist State. It may be that Lysistrate and Praxagora are to some extent parodies of Euripides' tragic heroines, but they are more than that. Whether man or woman, all three of them are leaders of the State. The great individual, and still more the sophistic idea of the 'right of the stronger', are outside the world of comedy. Only as *prostates*, that is to say, in an almost legal and official rôle, and by virtue of his association with State and people, could the individual human being lift himself above the general level. The great *prostates* was at the same time to satisfy the widespread popular longing for a true leader, which is echoed in particular in the *Birds* and *Lysistrate*.

On the other hand, in both these plays as well as in the

¹ σὲ γὰρ αὐτοκράτορ' εἶλετ' ἀγαθὴ τις ἡμῖν τύχη, P 359f.

Ekklesiastazousai the rise of the individual took place in quite unreal conditions. That may be due to the fact that it all happened on the comic stage. The actual demagogues and leaders were the chief targets of the comedians' hatred and sarcasm. If they were great in reality — and very few, if any, were — the comic poets would certainly not depict them as great, or only as great in their vices and misdeeds, like Kleon in the *Knights*, Hyperbolos in Eupolis' *Marikas* or he and others in Platon's *Hyperbolos*, *Kleophon* and *Peisandros*. Moreover, the unreal setting in comedy of political leadership may also have a deeper meaning. It shows that one of the most important problems of the time, the tension between individual and community, was, if at all reflected by comedy, never touched in its substance. The reason for this is not that the comedian still belonged to a community essentially undisturbed by modern intellectual developments, but on the contrary, that he was entirely a child of his own age. Aristophanes depicts an ideal form of political leadership in Cloudcuckoo-borough and the women's governments, but wherever he stands on the firm soil of reality, the ideal of an unpolitical life rules supreme.

Aristophanes knew of the struggle of ideas represented in the two words *physis* and *nomos*, nature and convention. When Phaedippides justifies his beating of his father by the analogy of the behaviour of certain animals, he contrasts this with the purely human *nomos*. Thus, without expressly using the word *physis*, he alludes to a doctrine which we mainly know as that of Antiphon.¹ Some indications in the speech of the Unjust Logos point to the same set of ideas.² But the *physis* which he generally opposes to the *nomos* of democracy is not that powerful demand of the great individual, which was at the core of the teaching of the later sophists. It is rather some vague idea of 'live and let live', of a human life without problems.³

The *Clouds* confirm that the comedian did not and could not enter into detailed philosophical questions and ideas, even if only to make fun of them. The one exception to this rule

¹ C.1425ff. Cf. W. C. Greene, *Moirai* (1944), 232ff; F. Heinimann, *Nomos und Physis* (1945), 146.

² C.1075, 1078; see also 960, 1187. Cf. Heinimann, *loc. cit.*, 131ff, 140f.

³ In W.1457f. τὸ γὰρ ἀποστῆναι χαλεπὸν φύσεως, ἣν ἔχουσι τῆς αἰετός, 'nature' is almost the same as 'personal habits', i.e. *nomos*.

is the *Ekklesiiazousai*, the only example, as far as I know, of an Attic comedy dealing with one of the fundamental ideas of political philosophy.¹ The silence of comedy, however, must not induce us to forget how intensely political the abstract thought of the Greeks was at that time. As always in later ages, so now when it happened for the first time: the rise of theoretical politics went hand in hand with the decline of practical politics.

The Athenians were passionate patriots, although sometimes in words rather than in deeds. The manifest pride of being an Athenian was there, breaking frequently through all the fun and all the bitter sarcasm of comedy. Despite the inner decline of communal life and the increasing importance of economic aims and means, there was enough tradition left to maintain some of the greatness of the past. And yet, it is from comedy that we can easily discover the limits of that greatness in a changed world. In spite of his general conservatism, in spite of all his patriotic zeal and love, in spite of his sincere appeals for the salvation of the State, Aristophanes was fundamentally a representative of an individualistic materialism akin to the creed he attacked in the teaching of the sophists. Comedy, by its very nature and by its growing incapacity to deal with the fundamental problems of politics, is itself a proof of the growing alienation between people and State.

¹ See above, p. 67.

CONCLUSION

WE propose to summarize in broad outline what Old Comedy has taught us about the life of the Athenian people, and to add some final conclusions.

The life of a citizen in Attica was at this time rooted in the life of his family and deme, that is to say in an emotional and traditional atmosphere which seems to have suffered more from the conflict and contrast between the generations (a conflict which had only recently become apparent) than from the freedom which man enjoyed by the rules of an essentially male society. The contrast of the generations is characterized by two main features: the importance attached to money and property, and the change in the methods and purpose of education and instruction, and both these factors were of significance in various other connections.

The peasants were in grave distress because of the war and the course of economic developments. They were numerous and consequently of economic importance; they also formed a very stable basis in the population by reason of their rural simplicity, their unpolitical desire for peace, their old-fashioned *petit bourgeois* ideal of life. When the tension between town and country grew and the impoverishment of the farmers became more serious, their general importance diminished, but it never disappeared completely. Both peasants and nobility were opposed to the economic and intellectual tendencies of the age. But the nobility was at this time undergoing a process of internal dissolution, brought about by its own luxury and degeneration as well as by the political and social preponderance of democracy and the teaching of the sophists. Athenian aristocracy was dying, and the few men of wealth and standing who existed besides the nobles had no social character of their own.

Traders and craftsmen, in spite of their modest and somewhat primitive methods of business, more and more took over the leadership of the State, politically as well as economically. The whole structure of Athenian economics was on such a large scale that it led to far-reaching specialization and intensification, which were of great importance for future economic

developments. Socially these traders and craftsmen belonged to a middle class of which the great majority could only live by the work of their hands. Non-citizens were interspersed in large numbers among the citizens, and there was no social gap between the citizens and those who formed the bulk of the foreigners, the Greek metics. This is true for both the upper and lower middle-classes, for the wealthy and highly-esteemed merchants and owners of large workshops no less than for the poor retailers, artisans and workmen. They were all, more or less, of the same type of petty citizen.

The slaves, with the exception of the domestic slaves, took over from the free men a part, but not a very large part, of the work to be done. If individual slaves rose to wealth and even social esteem, they did so merely by reason of exceptional intelligence and initiative. In fact, some of the slaves injected new blood and new ideas into economic life, but on the whole, slaves did not alter in any essential way the economic position of the citizens.

A community in which the difference between nobles and non-nobles was no longer quite real, and that between rich and poor, though on the increase, was for some time to come of no decisive consequence, represented as a social body a comparatively uniform body, a single unit, the unit of a middle class. Political equality helped to safeguard the unity of the social body, and the farmers, too, belonged to this middle class which at once resulted from, and sustained, the Kleisthenic order and the type of citizen which this order had produced. Much of the opposition to democracy was due to the desire of making political life decent and clean. There were a few idealists, or at least honest politicians, who aimed at a better state of affairs in domestic and also in imperial and foreign policies. Theramenes was perhaps one of them. But the majority of the oligarchic leaders and most likely also of their followers who were members of the *hetairiai*, were little better than desperados and gangsters. That became quite obvious in the upheavals of 411 and 404, which were not attempts of an upper class to regain power. The oligarchs, intent on overthrowing democracy, were a mixed lot, neither a true aristocracy nor a class of the well-to-do. These were not simply social or economic revolutions, it was political strife heralding the break-up of the political community.

A considerable and no doubt constantly increasing number of the people had little interest in politics and political activities. The lure of the official payments was less effective than is generally believed. The number of those who actually lived exclusively on their pay as jurymen, councillors, officials or members of the assembly, was at no time very large, though the burden on the State treasury was heavy, and though of course many welcomed that easily earned money as an additional means of support. The same is true of the distributions of corn. On the whole, those who were in fact 'kept by the State' were in the minority, not only relatively to the number of the whole working population, but also to that of the citizens alone. The age was characterized by an ever-growing urge to find new ways of making money, and the very smallness of the regular public fees proves that the majority of the people could not live on them. The number of those who received public payment in one form or another increased in the fourth century, but Aristotle's estimate of 20,000 men is, if not an 'absurd exaggeration',¹ certainly misleading, it confuses regular and irregular payments, and exaggerates the social and economic importance of both. It is of decisive importance that most of these payments were very modest allowances paid by the day, and that it was impossible to live on them, because there were so many days on which nothing could be earned from the State. It is hardly just to call the Athenians, either these receivers of public money or even the people as a whole, men 'on the dole'; the social question of unemployment never arose. The most we can say is that the very poorest members of the community, and a certain number of crafty and unscrupulous fortune-hunters, relied entirely or chiefly on the State for money, though a great many received some public pay. Everybody realized to an increasing extent the importance of money, and the economic side of life gradually overpowered the political side.

Thus the political consciousness of the ordinary citizen diminished, and the small payments offered by the State were ineffective against this tendency. In the long run, the State could not compete with the possibilities of economic activity, though many citizens tried to make the most that was to be got from politics, and some of them succeeded, frequently by

¹ Aristotle, *Ath pol* 24, 3 Bolkestein, 268

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Except where actual dates are given, the chronological position is approximate, if a ? is added, it is quite uncertain. Names of poets without the title of a play indicate little more than a sort of *floruit*. Since the Lenaia and the Great Dionysia fall roughly in February and April respectively, the performance of a comedy always belongs to the second half of the official year. I have, however, put down both years to which the official Athenian year belonged in order to cover the period when the play was actually written. For the latter cf. A. Ruppel, *Konzeption u. Ausarbeitung der aristophanischen Komödien*, Diss. Giessen, 1913, and in general Geissler's frequently mentioned book.

<i>First Generation of Old Comedy</i>	<i>Second Generation of Old Comedy</i>	<i>Other Dates</i>
	460-446 B.C.	
Kratinos victory (454/3)		
Krates' victory (451/0)		
Kratinos <i>Archilochoi</i>		Death of Aischylos
Chionides		First Performance of
Magnes	Birth of Eupolis (446)	Euripides
Ekphantides	Birth of Aristophanes	IG I ² , 40, 44
	445-432 B.C.	
?Kratinos <i>Diapetides</i>		Peace with Sparta
? „ <i>Nomoi</i>		IG I ² , 45
„ <i>Cheirones</i>		
„ <i>Ploutoi</i>		?Arrival of Protagoras in
„ <i>Pylaiä</i>		Athens
„ <i>Thraittai</i>	?Pherekrates	Sophokles <i>Antigone</i>
„ <i>Boukoloi</i>	<i>Doulodidaskalos</i>	
„ <i>Malthakoi</i>		Euripides <i>Alkestis</i> (439/8)
Kallias <i>Kyklopes</i> (435/4)		
Kratinos <i>Euneidai</i>		
? „ <i>Panoptai</i>		
Telekleides <i>Sierroi</i>		
„ <i>Hesiodoi</i>		Megarian Decree
	431-428 B.C.	
Kratinos <i>Dionysalexandros</i> (431/0)		Outbreak of war
? „ <i>Nemesis</i>		Euripides <i>Medea</i> (432/1)

<i>First Generation of Old Comedy</i>	<i>Second Generation of Old Comedy</i>	<i>Other Dates</i>
	431-426 B.C. (cont.)	
Ielekkleides frg 43, 44 (431/0)	Hermippos <i>Morai</i> „ <i>Stratiotai</i>	
Kallias <i>Atalantai</i> „ „ <i>Pedetai</i>	Hermippos <i>Theoi</i>	
Telekleides <i>Amphiktyones</i>	Phrynichos and Eupolis First performances	
	Eupolis <i>Prospaltoi</i>	Death of Perikles (429)
Telekleides <i>Apseudeis</i>	Pherekrates <i>Tyrannis</i>	„ „ Herodotos
Kratinos <i>Horai</i>		Euripides <i>Hippolytos</i> (429/8)
„ <i>Seriphioi</i>	Pherekrates <i>Automoloi</i>	Revolt of Mytilene
	427-421 B.C.	
	Aristophanes <i>Daitales</i> (428/7)	Ps.-Xenophon <i>Athension politeia</i>
	Eupolis <i>Taxiarchoi</i>	
	Hermippos <i>Phorophoroi</i>	Embassy of Gorgias of Leontinoi
	Aristophanes <i>Babyloni</i> (427/6)	
	„ <i>Acharnes</i> (426/5)	
	Pherekrates <i>Petale</i>	
	Phrynichos <i>Satyroi</i>	
	Eupolis <i>Agas</i>	
Kratinos <i>Deliaides</i> (425/4)	Aristophanes <i>Hippes</i> (425/4)	
	„ „ <i>Georgoi</i>	
	Eupolis <i>Chrysoungenoi</i> (425/4)	
	Aristophanes <i>Holkades</i> (424/3)	Thucydides goes into exile
	„ <i>Nephelai</i> (α) (424/3)	
Kratinos <i>Pytime</i> (424/3)	Ameipsias <i>Konnos</i> (424/3)	
	Eupolis <i>Astrateutai</i>	
	Aristophanes <i>Proagon</i> (423/2)	
	„ <i>Sphikes</i> (423/2)	
	Leukon <i>Presbeis</i> (423/2)	IG I ² , 76 (423/2)
	Eupolis <i>Poleis</i>	
	Pherekrates <i>Krapataloi</i>	
	Eupolis <i>Marikas</i> (422/1)	Death of Kleon
Death of Kratinos	„ <i>Kolakes</i> (422/1)	
	Aristophanes <i>Eirene</i> (α) (422/1)	
	Leukon <i>Phrateres</i> (422/1)	Peace of Nikias

Second Generation of Old Comedy	Third Generation of Old Comedy	Other Dates
	420-416 B C	
Pherekrates <i>Agrioi</i> (421/0)		IG I ² , 84 (421/0)
Eupolis <i>Autolykos</i> (421/0)		
Aristophanes <i>Geras</i>		
" <i>Eirene</i> (β)		
Platon <i>Nikai</i>		
Platon <i>Pezalges</i>		
Hermippos <i>Artopolides</i>		
Aristophanes <i>Daidalos</i>		
" <i>Danaides</i>		
Platon <i>Hyperbolos</i>		
Hermippos <i>Kerkopes</i>		
Platon <i>Syrphax</i>		
Aristomenes		Ostracism of Hyperbolos
Lysippos		
Aristophanes <i>Horai</i>		
" <i>Anagyros</i>		Capitulation of Melos
	415-404 B C	
Platon <i>Peisandros</i>		Euripides <i>Troades</i> (416/5)
Eupolis <i>Baptai</i>		Antiphon V
Pherekrates <i>Ipnos</i>		
Aristophanes <i>Amphialeos</i>		
" (415/4)		
" <i>Ornithes</i> (415/4)		Siege of Syracuse
Phrynichos <i>Monotropos</i>		IG I ² , 325ff
" (415/4)		IG I ² , 329 (414/3)
Ameipsias <i>Komastai</i> (415/4)		
Aristophanes <i>Heroos</i>		
Platon <i>Heortai</i>		
Eupolis <i>Demos</i> (413/2)		Euripides <i>Helene</i> (413/2)
Aristophanes <i>Lysistrate</i> (412/1)		
" <i>Thesmo-</i>		
" <i>phoriaxousai</i>		
" (412/1)		
" <i>Lemniai</i>		
Platon <i>Sophistai</i>		Revolt of the Four Hundred
Death of Eupolis		
Archippos	First performances of	
Hegemon	Metagenes, Polyzeios,	
Philonides <i>Kothornoi</i>	Stratus, Nikophon	IG I ² , 113
		Ps -Lysias XX
Aristophanes <i>Ploutos</i> (α)	Kantharos	Andokides II
" (409/8)		
" <i>Phormissai</i>	Strattis <i>Phormissai</i>	
" <i>Gerytades</i>	" <i>Chrysippos</i>	
" (408/7)		Alkibiades' return
" <i>Thesmo-</i>		
" <i>phoriaxousai</i>		
" (β)		
" <i>Batrachoi</i>		Death of Euripides and Sophokles (406)
" (406/5)		Euripides <i>Bakchai</i> (406/5)

<i>Second Generation of Old Comedy</i>	<i>Third Generation of Old Comedy</i>	<i>Other Dates</i>
	415-404 B C (cont)	
Phrynichos <i>Mousai</i> (406/5)	Theopompos <i>Kapelides</i>	Euripides <i>Iphigeneia en Aulidi</i> (406/5)
Platon <i>Kleophon</i> (406/5)	Sannyrion <i>Danae</i>	
„ <i>Skeuai</i>	Metagenes <i>Homeros</i>	
	Demetrios <i>Sikelha</i>	End of the war
	403-390 B C	
Platon <i>Hellas or Nesoi</i>	Archippos <i>Ichthyes</i>	Lysias XII, XXXIV
	Strattis <i>Kinesias</i>	Isokrates XXI, XVIII
Aristophanes <i>Pelargoi</i>	„ <i>Makedones</i>	IG II ² , 10 (401/0)
	„ <i>Potamioi</i>	Lysias XXI
	Theopompos <i>Althaea</i>	Lysias XXV, XXXII
	Nikochares	
	Phyllylios	Isokrates XX
	Kephisodoros	Andokides I (399/8)
	Sannyrion	Death of Thucydides
	Diokles	Lysias XXX, XIII, XXXI, XVII
Aristomenes <i>Dionysos</i>		IG II ² , 1237 (396/5)
(395/4)		Isokrates XVI
Platon <i>Presbeis</i>		Lysias XIV, VII
		Andokides III
		Isokrates XVII
		Isaios V
Aristophanes <i>Ekklesia- zousai</i>		
Platon <i>Phaon</i> (392/1)		Lysias III, XVI
		Isokrates XIII, XIX
		Isokrates IX
	398-380 B C AND AFTER	
Aristophanes <i>Ploutos</i> (β)	Theopompos <i>Theseus</i>	Isokrates XXVIII, XXIX, XXXIII, XXXIII
(389/8)	Alkaios <i>Pasiphae</i> (389/8)	Lysias XIX, XXII
	Nikophon <i>Adonis</i> (389/8)	Isokrates X
Aristophanes <i>Kokalos</i>	Nikochares <i>Lakones</i>	
(387/6)	(389/8)	
„ <i>Atoloslakon</i> (β)		Antiphanes (Middle Comedy) first perform- ance
Platon Αἱ ἀφ' ἑρῶν	Theopompos <i>Admetos</i>	Lysias X, XXVI
Death of Aristophanes	„ <i>Hedychares</i>	
	„ <i>Pamphile</i>	Isaios
	„ <i>Medos</i>	Xenophon
	Stratus <i>Atalante</i>	

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Items covered by the Index of Passages (such as names of writers or stage characters) as well as such general items as Athens, Old Comedy, people, Polis, economics, politics, religion, are not mentioned here. In both indices, ordinary figures refer to pages, raised figures to footnotes, Roman figures to chapters

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541ff	138 ⁶ , 166 ⁷ , 186 ²	959ff	29 ²	1491ff	276 ¹ , 284 ⁶
547f	187 ⁵	974ff	207 ¹	1501	64 ³ , 271 ¹
549ff	114 ⁴ , 151 ⁸ , 320 ¹	999ff	118 ⁵	1505f	174 ⁶ , 327 ⁴
553f	220 ⁷ , 223 ²	1009f	64 ⁴ , 149 ²	1506	189 ¹ , 291 ⁵
569ff	151 ⁸ , 166 ² , 173 ⁵ , 177 ¹	1015	109 ¹		
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588	161 ¹ , 213 ⁴	1032ff	90 ⁷ , 134 ³ , 260 ¹	4ff	187 ²
608	172 ⁵	1034f	302 ⁴	9	288 ⁴
616f	176 ² , 187 ⁶	1040	314 ³	16	281 ³
661	281 ⁴	1043ff	294 ²	19	21 ¹ , 115 ²
675ff	30 ⁵ , 65 ²	1046	172 ¹	21ff	186 ¹
679f	289 ⁴	1050f	294 ²	27ff	187 ²
686	33 ²	1054f	209 ⁸	30ff	111 ² , 256 ⁶
693ff	154 ³ , 174 ⁸ , 301 ⁹	1058	12 ¹	32	270 ⁶
697ff	301 ⁹	1065ff	236 ⁷ , 242 ⁴ , 303 ³	36ff	30 ⁸
700ff	154 ³ , 174 ⁸	1068	133 ⁷	40ff	87 ¹ , 338 ²
708ff	129 ⁵	1073	301 ⁶	43	168 ⁸
717ff	98 ¹ , 219 ²	1083ff	106 ¹ , 174 ⁶ , 291 ⁵ , 373 ¹	44	121 ¹ , 160 ³
720ff	140 ⁵ , 222 ⁵ , 237 ¹¹ , 248 ⁶	1089ff	256 ⁸	50f	227 ⁴ , ⁵
725	219 ² , 222 ⁶	1099ff	300 ⁴	59f	354 ⁵ , ⁹
729	99 ⁷ , 102 ³	1109ff	305 ⁵	61	260 ⁵
730ff	160 ⁷	1113	300 ⁴	64ff	187 ²
733	268 ²	1114	287 ⁶	67	173 ¹
738ff	176 ² , 188 ⁵	1141ff	147 ³ , ⁴	74f	355 ³
745ff	187 ²	1159	201 ³	81ff	183 ³
782f	29 ¹¹	1175f	262 ⁴	85	103 ⁵ , 264 ¹
809f	285 ⁴	1189f	199 ⁸	92ff	218 ¹
812f	187 ⁵	1206ff	283 ⁵	103	343 ⁴
814ff	283 ³	1217f	106 ³	106f	136 ⁵ , 264 ¹
830ff	36 ¹ , 283 ³	1220f	118 ⁵	109ff	266 ⁵
839	285 ⁶	1234ff	98 ⁶ , 224 ⁴	129ff	121 ¹ , 148 ³ , 341 ⁴
840	21 ¹ , 86 ⁸ , 115 ³	1261ff	288 ³	136	121 ¹
842	243 ⁶	1279f	180 ² , 280 ⁷	137	133 ⁷ , 352 ⁵
855	243 ⁶	1296f	288 ⁸	149	271 ¹
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176	355 ⁴	344ff	354 ⁷	587f	254 ¹
178	355 ⁴	347	151 ³ , 346 ⁸	589	35 ⁶
179	107 ⁴ , 115 ⁹	355	354 ⁸	595ff	96 ⁷ , 100 ²
180	355 ⁴	358	354 ⁹	600	229 ²
181	96 ¹ , 144 ⁴	361	138 ⁶ , 157 ⁷	602	138 ⁸ , 301 ¹
185f	95 ⁶	362	182 ³ , 241 ⁶	611	99 ⁴
188ff	287 ³ , 291 ⁷	367	346 ⁸	624ff	324 ²
195ff	260 ⁵	368	303 ¹⁰	626ff	352 ⁵
202ff	260 ⁷	375f	130 ⁶	628	110 ⁵
217ff	96 ¹ , 291 ⁷ , 352 ⁵	381	280 ⁷	630f	78 ³
220	260 ⁶	384f	86 ⁶	634ff	96 ¹ , 144 ⁴ , 257 ³
221	263 ⁵	392	107 ⁴ , 115 ⁶	644ff	131 ⁵ , 223 ⁴
223ff	95 ⁶ , 341 ⁵	395f	281	649	223 ³
225ff	95 ³	400f	24 ⁵	651	350 ⁹
228	30 ⁴	402f	239 ⁴	654ff	259 ¹ , 342 ³
232	129 ⁴	410	259 ¹ , 342 ³	665	175 ⁵
233	29 ³ , 30 ⁴	414	244 ⁷	666	350 ⁹
237f	157 ⁷	418f	168 ³ , 176 ³	671f	131 ⁵ , 315 ⁴ , 324 ²
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256	352 ⁵	443ff	303 ¹⁰ , 346 ⁸	707	226 ⁸
257	110 ⁴ , 339 ⁴	445ff	339 ⁵	728f	256 ³
258f	74 ⁸ , 343 ³	448f	155 ⁶	731	95 ¹
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267f	338 ⁵	461f	129 ⁶ , 149 ¹	737ff	101 ⁵ , 115 ⁶ , 125 ⁸
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278f	141 ¹ , 325 ² , 344 ⁵	475ff	110 ⁵ , 339 ⁴	765	178 ¹¹ , 179 ¹²
280ff	342 ⁴	479f	137 ⁴	780	214 ⁵
283	131 ¹	487	352 ⁵	792f	308 ⁴
285ff	352 ⁵	492	115 ²	798ff	221 ⁷ , 232 ¹
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923ff	236 ⁵	1312	169 ⁸ , 257 ⁴	262	256 ⁶
929	131 ⁷	1315	125 ⁶ , 148 ⁴	272ff	298 ⁶
930ff	156 ¹	1316ff	29 ⁴ , 37 ³	328ff	173 ⁵ , 176 ⁵
944	107 ⁸	1319	157 ⁹	330f	186 ² , 188 ³
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997ff	260 ⁵	1340ff	100 ⁵ , 352 ⁷	379	166 ⁵ , 186 ²
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ADDENDUM

to page 27, note 2.

There is a new piece of possible evidence the knowledge of which I owe to Mr. E. G. Turner. In an unpublished Hibeh Papyrus (probably early third century B.C.) the story is told which we also find in Diog. Laert. II, 5, 34, partly in different and partly in identical words. At Sokrates' house important guests are expected; in fact, they have already arrived: [ἤδη ἤκ]οῦσιν οἱ ξ[έν]οι. Xanthippe is fussy about the preparations (στρώματα καὶ π[οτ]ήρια), and Sokrates tells her not to worry: εἰ μὲν γὰρ[ρ], ἔφη, εἰσὶ χαρ[ίεντ]ες, οὐθὲν αὐτοῖς διοίσει μετέχε[ιν] τῶν παρόντων· εἰ δὲ μή εἰσι χαρίεντες, ἔμο[ι] αὐτῶν οὐθὲν μελήσει. After this we read: ἡ δὲ Ξανθίππη βουλομ[έ]νη εἰς Διονύσια ἐξελθεῖν [. . .]. If this means that she was going to the theatre the disputed question whether or not women attended theatrical performances seems to be decided. But again the evidence is ambiguous and, in fact, rather points to something else. From the context it is certain that it was late in the day; the time for dinner could not be much before sunset (in April). Xanthippe was in a hurry, not because she wanted to go to the theatre, but because she wished to be in time for some event in the evening. That would probably be the κῶμος, the procession in which, at the end of the first day of the festival, the figure of Dionysos was brought back from the grove of Akademos to the theatre. This procession provided opportunity for drinking and revelling (A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, 439. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 139ff). It is well known that women took part in Dionysiac processions, and there would be many among the spectators. Did the lost part of the story display some unknown feature of the legendary portrait of the amiable Xanthippe?

